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MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN GUJARAT

PRELIMINARY STUDIES IN THEIR HISTORY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Satish C. Misra
M.A., PH.D.

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FOREWORD

Dr. Misra deserves to be congratulated for a very painstaking and scholarly piece of research work which he has done on the various Muslim communities which are now found in Gujarat. Dr. Misra's study is not purely historical. It is partly historical and partly sociological.

Long before the Muslim conquest of India, the Arabs had come in close contact with Gujarat because of its geographical position.

Saurashtra and Gujarat being situated on the west coast of India had very early trade and maritime connections with the Arabs. It is believed by some historians that the sudden overthrow of the great Vallabhi power in Gujarat was due to a probable Arab invasion. Even before the conquest of Gujarat by Ala-u-din Khilji, there was already a small Muslim community in Cambay. After the conquest of Gujarat by the Muslims and the subsequent emergence of the Sultanate of Gujarat, a large number of Muslim communities sprang up in Gujarat, some originally of foreign origin and some of indigenous growth.

Dr. Misra has referred to most of these Muslim communities in Gujarat. The Bohra, the Khojah and Memon communities are unique in Gujarat. They are enterprising business men and traders.' Dr. Misra has dealt at length with customs, manners, social life and legal institutions of these communities.

It is surprising how Hindu religion has influenced other religions which came to India. The Muslim and the Christian communities in India were influenced by the Hindu caste system and social organization. Customs, manners and outlook on life of these communities have been deeply influenced by Hindu caste organization, manners and customs. Many of the Muslim communities were the result of conversion. They, therefore, embraced the Muslim religion but retained most of the customs and manners of the Hindu castes to which they formerly belonged.

This study shows the toleration of the early Hindu rulers in Gujarat. The early Arabs who came to Gujarat were allowed to set up their mosques and pursue their religion without any molestation.

In one instance, in Cambay, when there was a complaint that the Muslim mosque was damaged by the Hindus, Siddharaj Jayasingha who was then the Ruler of Gujarat personally investigated into this matter. On finding that the complaint was correct, he got the mosque rebuilt at his own expense and gave compensation to the Muslims whose property was destroyed.

Dr. Misra has produced a really first class solid historical study of Muslim communities in Gujarat for which he deserves our felicitations.

J. M. MEHTA,
M.A. (OXON.), PH.D. (LONDON), BAR-AT-LAW
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PREFACE

Our time craves a philosophy of history, a theory of culture. Generalization is its favourite tool to put a semblance of order into the overwhelming chaos of facts. Inevitably, it must face the danger of restating its insights on the strength of selected data that gently turn into cliches. And the more remote an area from our society as a whole the more deadening this reliance on yesterday's finds will become.

Strangely enough, research itself tends to slide into well-worn grooves. For decades on end, Islamic studies have largely side-stepped Indian Islam; and for generations, scholars have been hesitant to survey and analyse the social structure of the communities whose faith and history were their chosen theme.

Dr. Misra's studies on the Muslim castes of Gujarat and the history of the major sects which give Islam in that region its peculiar profile are welcome as a determined step towards neutralizing those three allied weaknesses. His book offers a wealth of new data; it opens the door to one of the least investigated sectors of the Islamic world; and it provides a rich introduction to composition and stratification of Gujarati Islam and the social realities within which the Muslim faith is lived in the complexities of an area where traditions are commingled rather than blended.

No doubt, the reader will want more than Dr. Misra has been able to give. The corelation of sect, caste, linguistic affiliation—to mention but one series of co-ordinates that emerge from his materials—will require further investigation as will the attraction which certain doctrines held and hold for certain units, ethnic, linguistic or professional. But a beginning has been made, and this beginning has already yielded a good many results that will stand the test of further scrutiny.

The studies which Dr. Misra inaugurated and which, it must be hoped, he himself will be able to widen indicate—and this is where their promise goes beyond their actual content—that in India sociological research would seem to be free from that strange distrust of social science studies which, unfortunately, is found only too often in countries, and especially in newly independent countries, outside the Western orbit. This distrust, nursed by a blend of bad conscience, suspicion and an unwillingness to view oneself in a full-length mirror, reflects at the same time the embarrassment of the very young and the precarious self-satisfaction of the very old. Though old and young, impetuous and reflective, Indian scholarship, of which Dr. Misra's work may be taken as a representative sample, appears to have been able to fight clear of the inhibitions of false shame, with the result that by viewing itself from all sides it has enriched not only that self-knowledge without which planning for the future turns futile but the possibilities of scholars and thinkers anywhere on the globe.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A little over four years ago, in July 1959, we started to work on a project, "Socio-Historical Survey of the Muslim Population of Gujarat". On this we worked till March 1961 and the present monograph is its result.

This work we began with certain questions in mind and with certain assumptions; these have been given later. But soon, our limitations became apparent to us. Our planning as regards the scope and objectives of our work, had been, we discovered more on the hopeful and ambitious side than on the realistic. We had little experience of field-work.

It also became clear to us that in this context and placed as we were, it would be necessary for us to devise our own methods and techniques of work. This in itself, was not free from hazards. And by the time, we had surmounted a few of these difficulties and evolved some order, we ran into serious staff difficulties. With this, our capacity to do intensive work, especially detailed field-work, became seriously inhibited.

It is with a certain sense of dissatisfaction, almost of inadequacy, therefore that this study is being presented. No finality is claimed for the facts and views presented in this, what is primarily a preliminary and exploratory endeavour. More intensive work, both historical and sociological would certainly bring to light many facts which would correct and balance this study. If this study is therefore able to attract the attention of the serious students to this inter-disciplinary field which promises rich rewards, its purpose would have been to some extent, fulfilled.

I may also be permitted to add here that nothing can be farther from our intentions than to affect the susceptibilities of any community or any group or any person. It has been our object to maintain objectivity and a desire to understand underlies the attempt which we have made. It is in this spirit therefore that I would earnestly request the following pages to be read. Criticism which would be of help in correction and further prosecution of our work would be very welcome indeed.

It is to a pleasant duty that I turn with these remarks, to a privilege which I have looked forward to, of expressing my sincere thanks to the help and encouragement which has been received from different quarters before and during the course of this work. This study would not have been possible without the funds provided by the University Grants Commission, first the Government of Bombay and later the Government of Gujarat and the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. To all these authorities, our first thanks are due for making this work possible.

I am deeply thankful to Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (London), Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, The M. S. University of Baroda for the keen interest he has taken in this work. He went through the typescript

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and his *Foreword* does more than justice to this a preliminary study. Of this I am conscious and deeply appreciative.

But for the unfailing encouragement and advice given by Dr. C. S. Patel, M.Sc. (Bom.), Ph.D. (Leeds), Pro-Vice-Chancellor, The M. S. University of Baroda, this study would not have seen the light of the day. For this, I am deeply grateful to him. To Shri B. K. Zutshi, M.A., LL.B., Registrar, The M. S. University of Baroda, I am thankful for smoothening out the administrative difficulties whenever they occurred.

To my colleague and friend, Dr. I. P. Desai, M.A., Ph.D. (Bom.), Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, The M. S. University of Baroda, my debt is indeed great. The scheme of work was planned with his help and his advice and assistance was freely available during its implementation. He went through the draft of the typescript and his suggestions were invariably judicious and invaluable. To Dr. David F. Pocock, M.A. (Cantab.), D.Phil. (Oxon.), Lecturer in Indian Sociology, Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford University, I am grateful for going through portions of this work and making a number of valuable suggestions. To Dr. Colin C. Davies, formerly Reader in Indian History, Oxford University who has since then retired, I am grateful for having looked over a part of this work though his primary interest was in another work, a historical one, which I did in Oxford, with him as my Supervisor of Studies. And to the British Council which awarded me a Scholarship enabling me to stay in Oxford from October 1961 to August 1962, I must express my sincere thanks for the opportunity so provided.

During the course of this work, the Research Assistants and I had the opportunity to visit different parts of Gujarat and to meet many people. It is with deep pleasure therefore that I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and thankfulness for the friendliness and hospitality with which we were met everywhere. Without this help and generosity, this work would not have been possible—though I must hasten to add that our kind friends are in no way responsible for anything said in this book. Indeed, some of them may be rather disappointed in this work, in the use I have made of the information made freely available to us. For this I have to request for their indulgence; I am sure that they understand my sincerity though they may regret my inability to do justice to the task.

In singling out a very few of them for special thanks, I am conscious of many others, a number of whom will not read and may not hear of this work. And first, I must mention, the two men from whom I have learnt a great deal and who epitomise in themselves the culture and the learning characteristic of traditional Gujarat scholars. They are Maulana Muhammad Shakir, a man having both charm and distinction and head of the Sulaimani community in India and Pakistan with his headquarters in Baroda and to whom thus, I was able frequently to resort. The next is Kazi Syed Nuruddin Husain of Bharuch to whom I have frequently gone not only to meet a man of ripe knowledge and unfailing courtsey but also to utilise his large collection of books and manu-

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scripts. From his family records come the registers cited herein and I am grateful to him for allowing me to use it for this work. Libraries like his deserve to be preserved with institutional help.

I am thankful to Dr. Y. Najmuddin, the learned Amir-u'l-Jamia, Jamia-i-Saifiya, Surat for giving me the opportunity to meet him in Bombay and discussing some aspects of this work. To Maulwi Mohsinbhai who made this interview possible, I have to thank for this and other help.

My thanks are due to a number of friends with whom I have had the opportunity of discussing some of the problems raised in this book and seeking information on them. Among them, I may mention Shri Badruddin Blue, M.L.A. and Shri Momin Miyanji Nur Muhammad " Ruhkash " of Sidhpore: Maulana Habibur Rahman Ghaznawi, Editor *Ab-i-Hayat* and Syed Kasim Ali Piranewale of Ahmedabad: Shri A. F. Syed " Munadi ", Editor *Muslim Gujarat* of Surat: Bawasaheb Riyaz Husain of Palanpur: Shri Hashimbhai of Bhuj-Kacchh: Shri Ibrahim Dargahwala of Navasari and the Qazi Saheb of Navasari: Shri Pirbhai Tai of Dabhoi: and in Baroda, friends among whom I may mention, Shri Azeem Tyabji, Shri M. H. Dayamakumar, Shri M. A. Qureshi and Maulana Muhammad Siddiq. To Shri Ismail M. Patel of Bharuch, I am thankful for some material which has been used in this book.

To my colleagues, the Research Assistants who worked on this project, I am reluctant to express my thanks since it may seem to diminish their share in this, what in a very real sense is the result of team work. They did the field-work on which this book is based and next to our kind informants, it is they who are responsible for the merits, if any, in this study. Sarvashri A. A. Kazi and H. R. Gautama worked on this project from July 1959 to February 1961 and Sarvashri Mir Mahboob Ali, A. H. Tai and G. Z. Refai from July 1959 to March 1961. Shri G. Z. Refai, at present also a Research Assistant in the Department of History in a different scheme was of much help subsequently.

It has been necessary to put this work through the press with express speed and for this as well as for the excellent get up, and production of this book I am thankful to my publishers Messrs. Asia Publishing House and the printers, Shri Ramanbhai Patel of the University (Sadhana) Press, Baroda, both of whom met my numerous demands with exemplary patience.

I am deeply thankful to Professor Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Director, Near Eastern Center, University of California, for his very kind Preface. Since it was received when this had already been composed, I have to mention my debt to him at the end of these Acknowledgements. But though last, it is not the least of our many debts, and I may be permitted to repeat my thanks to him.

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S. C. MISRA

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INTRODUCTION

THE IDEA of this inquiry has its genesis in the present writer's study of Indian history, especially Indo-Muslim history. A number of studies have been made of the cultural aspect of Indo-Muslim contact through the ages but none has been made which inquired into the social aspect of this interaction, into the formation, development and nature of the Muslim communities in this country. What factors led to the formation of these communities, especially of communities which were converted from Hinduism? What were the changes which Islam wrought in the life and manners of these people? How far were the neo-converts Islamized? How far were the foreign Muslim communities, indigenized by the impact of Indian life? How and in what manner did Indian Islam shape itself not only in its ideational and cultural spheres but in the social and inter-personal spheres?

It was obvious that the techniques of historical study would not by themselves answer the questions. The problem had to be studied from documents in the historical, time sequence and also analysed by observation in the present one. For, before going back to study the history of the Muslim communities, it was necessary to be definite regarding the nature of these communities. To what extent did these intra-Muslim groups share the characteristics of the intra-Hindu divisions? Could these be called castes?

The first task was therefore to lay down the basic premises on which the inquiry could be based, to define the Muslim communities and to enumerate them. This was necessary in view of the special position of the formation of communities within the social order of Islam. Unlike Hinduism, where caste-system is an integral part of the social order, Islam is theoretically and in many aspects actually, an egalitarian socio-religious system which discourages the formation of internal groups. For this reason, it was necessary to establish the fact of the existence of socially autonomous and mutually differentiated groups and communities and examine their main characteristics and historical antecedents.

This is the main theme of this work, the preliminary phase of a task where much remains, before any conclusions can be reached.

The inquiry commenced with the data available in the Gazetteers, Census Reports, other Reports and allied literary material. For isolating Muslim communities as they exist now, it was necessary to go to the National Register of Citizens which is maintained in taluqa and municipal headquarters and in which the names, age and occupation of the residents of that town or taluqa, are listed. These records thus give the family unit according to households, surnames, educational and occupational affiliations and the community to which the persons belonged.

The compilation of data on the basis of these records was a laborious and

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time consuming task which followed upon the work in the libraries. In some ways, it was also the most discouraging one. It cannot be said that these records were all or in most cases, the most up-to-date or very accurate ones nor were they conclusive insofar as the educational and occupational levels were concerned. They had been compiled in 1951, when we went to them and as is well-known, two completed and one continuing Five Year Plans have wrought significant changes in these patterns.

With these limitations nevertheless, these are the main records which give an idea of the communal configurations in any particular place. Moreover, since recent census records do not show the sub-communal differences within the Muslim community or for that matter within the Hindu community either, their value in determining the distribution of these communities, is considerable. Hence, they are indispensable for field-work in a particular place as well as independent source material for educational and occupational details. An analysis of the source material thus gathered has been presented in this report in appendices ' B ', ' C ' and in Chapter 4 as " Brief Notes of Communities ".

As this work concluded, this data was checked and supplemented by field-work. The field-work was based upon a questionnaire which is given at the end. The investigators were asked to use this questionnaire as an aid to their case-work and to make their reports in a narrative form. Deliberately, it was not made available in a printed form which had to be filled for it was felt that greater flexibility could be possible if the investigators were allowed initiative in treating and reporting their work.

As this work proceeded, historical material was collected dealing with the historical aspect of the work, in the shape of manuscripts, documents, *jama't* literature, pamphlets, etc. This search, it must be confessed, did not yield expected results, especially regarding the period before the eighteenth century. Canonical literature, in the form of hagiography and *malfuzat* (speeches and sayings of saints) as also biographies was occasionally encountered. In addition, modern researches in historical fields, mostly published, were also studied. This was relatively plentiful for the Isma'ili communities, dealing not so much with their history or social organization, but with the ritual and doctrinal aspects of their religious life.

In the presentation of this material, this study has been divided into three parts. The first part deals in a broad survey with the history of Muslim communities in Gujarat. It is divided into three chapters. In the first, the foundation and the rise of Muslim communities in Gujarat are sketched upto the end of the fourteenth century by which time, they become too numerous and too differentiated to be treated together. The next two chapters deal with the history of first, the Bohra community and then the Khojah missionaries including the dissenting offshoots of this order in Gujarat.

The next Part is mainly ethnological giving an account of the Muslim communities in Gujarat, regarding whom information could be obtained. The first chapter in this Part contains brief notices which have been based

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upon an analysis of the population records, i.e. the National Register of Citizens. In the second chapter, details regarding thirty-three communities are given, which are based on field-work. These details are primarily concerned with the manners and customs, social volitions, dress and social organization. A number of reports are more detailed than others owing to two factors: in the first place, some communities are numerically much larger, requiring more detailed treatment; secondly, field-work was also uneven and it may be said that fuller field-work could not be done respecting a great number of communities.

This chapter as will be seen shows glaring lacunae. This is the result of our inability to do sufficient field-work in the communities not included. If this preliminary treatment suggests the immense possibility of research work in this sphere, the object will have been served. Thus, there is no field-work account of the two major Isma'ili communities of Gujarat, the Bohra and the Khojah whose history has been sketched earlier. We have not been able to deal even cursorily with the distinctive mercantile Sunni community, the Memons. The reason again, was that we did not feel that our field-work was sufficient to enable us to treat these communities in even the bare manner, others had been done.

Most of those included, as will be noted are Sunni and if it can be said, those which do not have the sophistical social organization and canonical literature which is possessed by the Isma'ili communities mentioned earlier.

The third and the last Part deals with the social organization of the Muslim communities and their social institutions. The first chapter here attempts an analysis of the elements of the caste-system, found atypically among the Hindus, as it is reflected in the Muslim communities. *Inter alia*, there is an attempt to conceptualize this peculiar adaptation of the Great Tradition to the Little Tradition and to find out the hierarchical spacing and social mobility within this order.

The next chapter deals with the self-administering institutions which have been thrown up by the communities for maintaining their individuality and in recent years, for furthering their educational and occupational interests. The change from the punitive *jama'tbandi* of the former era to the welfare organization of the present one, while still based on birth-determined configurations, has been noted here.

The next, eighth chapter, deals with the societal relationships within the community itself, namely, marriage and family relationships. Here, a preliminary attempt has been made to discuss the endogamous and hypergamous pattern of marriage alliances and some of the family obligations which family organization imposes on its members. Included in this chapter is a section on the communal affiliations of the marriage patterns as revealed by an analysis of the marriage records maintained by the Qazi of Bharuch, culled from a random sample, the marriage register dealing with the years 1853-55. An appendix later, gives the kinship terminology current among the Sunni Muslim

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communities.

The last chapter deals with the changes which have been coming over the Muslim communities in recent years, especially, the allied processes which are rather clumsily described as Islamization, Rationalization and Westernization. An attempt has been made to indicate the processes of social mobility and social rise and the changes that these bring in their train, especially as these processes are being manifest in the rapidly changing situation of the present days.

The appendices which follow, give first, the kinship terminology of the Muslim Communities. Then follows the list of Muslim Communities and revealed by population records, their number and strength. This is followed by a list of places where population records could be consulted and field-work done. Appendix 'D' gives a chronological list of Da'udi Bohra Dai's in India. Then is given the Questionnaire which was given to the investigators.

The limitations from which this inquiry suffered, are obvious. In the first place, field-work was inadequate. It was confined mainly to the towns of north and central Gujarat and to a lesser extent to south Gujarat. Perfunctory work could be done in Kacchh while Saurashtra remained virtually untouched. Rural areas were hardly penetrated.

Secondly, the materials on which the historical sections are based, particularly the two chapters dealing with the history of the Isma'ili communities, leave a historian dissatisfied. They are, as will be perceived, mainly secondary. But detailed treatment of a relatively not very well explored field, based on original material, was obviously beyond the compass of this, a preliminary study. Hence, it is only to give some idea of the growth of these communities in Gujarat and with the hope that they will form the stepping stones to further and detailed, individual studies, that these inadequate sketches have been attempted.

It is hoped to continue the work begun with this inquiry. With more detailed historical and sociological investigation it will be possible to have a clearer and better picture of the Muslim communities in Gujarat.

And finally, I would like to draw the attention of the reader to the "Additional Notes and Corrections" placed before the "Select Bibliography" for the incorporation of some changes of substance and for the removal of mis-prints.

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PART I

HISTORY

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CHAPTER 1

RISE OF MUSLIM POPULATION IN GUJARAT

ARAB TRADERS are known to have been settled in the important trade marts of the west Indian sea coast. They carried much of the sea-borne trade across the Indian Ocean, the lanes of which were well known to them.[1] Arab geographers and traders who came in the ninth and tenth centuries speak of these, self-administered, ancient colonies with centuries of history behind them.

Not much is known about them; the Arab writers describe what they saw by the end of the first millennium. They were free to worship in their own mosques and had their own head known as the *Hunnarman*.[2] They were extremely well-treated and their religious susceptibilities scrupulously respected; 'Ufi the Ghuride chronicler, relates a story according to which Siddharaj Jayasingha of Gujarat is reported to have taken a trip to Cambay from his capital, Anhilwada Patan to check on a complaint which had been brought by a Muslim before him.[3]

The 'irruption' of the Arabs after the death of the Prophet leading to the foundation of their world-empire, had its repercussions in western India. Among the earliest contacts were those with the then Gujarat kingdom, the Maitrakas ruling from Vallabhipura, near modern Bhavanagar.[4]

The first raid came only four years after the death of the Prophet in the year 15/635 when the governor of Bahrein sent an expedition under his brother against Bharuch. The third Khalifa 'Umar who was then reigning rebuked his lieutenant sharply and in characteristic Arab fashion; " O brother of Sakif ", he wrote, " Thou hast placed the worm in the wood but I swear by God that if our men had been killed, I would have taken an equal number from thy tribe. "[5]

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, I, fn. 1, R. C. Majumdar Ed., *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, *The Classical Age*, 451-2 and 627-8. (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1954). M. R. Majumdar, *Chronology of Gujarat*, (M. S. University, Baroda, 1960), 65.

[2] For a detail discussion of these colonies, *refer*, Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi, *Arab-Hind ke ta'aluqat* (Urdu) (Hindustan Academy, Allahabad, 1930), 276-90. Elliot and Dowson Vol. I, 24 and 27. M. I. Dar, *Literary and Cultural Activities in Gujarat*, (Ismail Yusuf College, Bombay, 1960), 15-22. D. M. Tirmidhi, " Arabic Studies in Gujarat ", *al-Urwa*, Vol. I, No. 1 (July, 1947).

[3] Nadwi, op. cit., 242-6: E. & D. II (Aligarh Cosmopolitan Publishers, Aligarh), 161-3: infra 6.

[4] It will be noted that it is neither necessary nor intended to give here a detailed account of the Arab invasions on Gujarat.

[5] Al-Balazuri, *Futuh-u'l-Buldan*, II, 176-7. (Urdu trans.) Osmania University, Hyderabad.

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Evidently, an expedition where such insignificant losses were recorded was nothing more than a reconnaissance probe. Several such forays were sent out in the years following; 'Umar's successor 'Usman sent another scouting expedition. Its commandant 'Abd-u'llah reported to him: "Water scarce, fruits inferior, robbers impudent, the army if small, likely to be lost, if numerous, likely to perish by hunger and thirst." 'Usman was puzzled; he inquired of his lieutenant if he was reciting verses or giving information and was assured that what he had been told was an authentic, first-hand account.[6]

Nevertheless several expeditions followed but not without much success; one of them lost its leader in an engagement. No serious attempt was made to effect a conquest by sea. In the first place, these forays did not encourage such an attempt. The Rajput power in Gujarat was far too strong to be overcome by a naval expedition. Besides, the Arabs in the flush of conquest nearer home were too occupied to give anything but passing attention to distant lands.

The fall of Sind altered the picture. It gave the Arabs a contiguous land frontier, difficult no doubt but not impassable, with Gujarat. Arab expeditions were henceforth land-based and consequently more powerful. For the first time do the powers in Gujarat record the occurrence of an Arab invasion. Several rulers, the Pratihara king Nagabhata, the Chalukya ruler of Lata, south Gujarat, Avanijanasraya Pulakesiraja and also the Gurjara king Jayabhata IV appear to have fought and finally brought the Arab invasion to a halt.

But it was a fairly serious attempt. The Arabs under their leader Junaid in a two-pronged drive advanced as far south as Bharuch and Navasari and as far east as Ujjain and contemporary Indian records indicate that they defeated the kings of the Saindhavas, Kacchhellas, Saurashtra, the Chavotakas, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras. Spread between 724 and 738, these attacks appear to have undoubtedly affected the fortunes of these kingdoms but it is surely difficult to say what their long term effects were.[7]

Under Tamim, Junaid's successor, Arab fortunes declined and they lost their newly conquered provinces if they had ever been annexed. Periodical raids however continued to distract the declining Vallabhi kingdom; in 758, Khalifa Mansur sent a fleet to the Porbandar coastal town, Barada; in 776, another Arab expedition succeeded in taking that town but it had to abandon its gain because of the spread of an epidemic in the army.[8] Al-Biruni suggests that the fall of the powerful Vallabhi kingdom was owing to these Arab attacks but this appears hardly possible.

During the tenth century, a number of Arab travellers and geographers visited India. Since Sind at that time was *Inde Arabaise*, they were in a position to

[6] Idem II 178.

[7] *The Classical Age*, 172-3. M. R. Majmudar, op. cit. 191. *Futuh-u'l-Buldan*, II, 194-6.

[8] Elliot and Dowson (E. & D.) I, 4: Nadwi, op. cit. 277.

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observe closely the political situation in the adjoining territories and the condition of their co-religionists under the indigenous rulers.

The earliest Arab traveller, the merchant Sulaiman, who came in 237/851 found the ruler of Jurz unfriendly to the Arabs while the Balhara, ruling further south was more friendly.[9] He was followed at the end of the ninth century by Buzurg bin Shahryar; this Arab captain made frequent trips to the west coast and met a neo-Muslim, formerly a Hindu as a shipmaster in one of the ships, possibly the earliest recorded case of a voluntary Indian convert. This man was a prosperous trader and had performed the *haj*.[10]

Other travellers followed: in the beginning of the fourth/tenth century came Ma'sud, the Arab Herodotus. He visited Cambay and other towns in Gujarat and echoes the words spoken by his predecessors regarding the prowess of the Balhara kings and their friendship for the Arabs. "In no other Indian ruler's land are the Arabs and the Muslims treated so well as in his. They have their *Jami'* mosques in his land and are happy in all ways." Unfortunately, the animosity of the ruler of Jurz was in no way unabated.[11]

Slightly later in 340/951, followed Abu Ishaq al-Istakhri. He noticed the territories of the Balhara as extending from Cambay southwards and wrote: "It is a land of infidels but there are several Musalmans in cities and none but Musalmans rule over them. There are Jama' masjids in them."[12]

These trading communities continued to flourish in the tenth century. Inscriptions indicate the presence of Arab and Persian traders not only in the coastal marts but also in inland towns. An Arab family, al-Bammi of Cambay, has left several records of its wealth and piety. The earliest Muslim inscription in the whole of northern India, records the construction of a *Jami'* mosque in that city by Sa'id bin Abu Sharif bin 'Ali bin Shapur al-Bammi, in Muharram 615/ April 1218. Another, an epitaph records the resting place of another al-Bammi and yet another indicates what could have been the grave of a Persian trader.

In Patan, the capital, an inscription records the death of another, possibly a Persian merchant who died in Muharram 681/May 1282. From Junagadh comes an inscription commemorating the construction of a mosque by an Arab shipmaster described in the inscription as "the benevolent chief, the great benefactor, prince of the chieftains and shipmasters, the prop of the pilgrims to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina". The fact that it was considered necessary to construct a mosque in Junagadh testifies to the presence of a considerable community of Muslims in this inland town, in this age.

By this time, a touch of mysticism had also affected these colonists; this is indicated by another epitaph from Cambay, one of the most interesting of these early records. This inscription records the resting place of Zain-u'l-din, Sultan-u'l-muhaqqiqin, a sobriquet which suggests mystical inclinations. Further, it contains an entire *ghazal* and two *rubā'is*, remarkable for their poetical excellence and quality. The composition of this *ghazal* by a colonist of Cambay suggests

[9] Nadwi, op. cit. 277.
[10] Idem 278.
[11] Idem 280.
[12] E. & D., I. 27.

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the presence of vigorous literary trends amongst them.

The indigenization of these merchant families is shown by two inscriptions from Cambay, in which the epithet of *fatolia* is applied to a family of traders. This is indicative of a process common even in the present day in which families derive their surnames from the commodities in which they trade; the Irbilis appear to have been dealing in betel nuts.[13]

Finally, a lengthy bi-lingual inscription from Somnath Patan which records the endowment of a mosque by a wealthy ship owner of that city in AH 662/vs 1320/Vallabhi s. 945/1264, gives an idea of the social divisions and the communal organization of these immigrants.

This inscription is remarkable in several ways. In the first place, the Sanskrit part is more comprehensive, more detailed than the Arabic and its adaptation of Arabic phrases to Sanskritic terminology is indicative of the linguistic synthesis which was in evolution within this cultural milieu. Equally interesting is the attempt to translate Arabo-Muslim concepts in Sanskrit vocabulary.

The real importance of the inscription however lies in the information it furnishes regarding the Muslim communities in Somnath Patan. The chief figure of the inscription is *Nakhu* Noradina Piroja, the son of Khoja Nau Abu Brahima of Hurmujadesa; he came to Somanatha-deva-nagara in connexion with his business when Amir Ruknadina was ruling at that harbour. The names are Nakhuda Nur-u'd-din Firuz, son of Abu Ibrahim; the Arabic part gives them as Nur-u'd-daulat-wa-u'd-din Firuz bin Abu-Ibrahim al-Iraqi.

This shipmaster purchased land just outside the town; it is also possible that he received it as a gift from Briha Raja Chhada, the son of Raja Nanasimha, in the presence of all the *jama'ts* as well as the leading men. Since Firuz was an extremely pious man in his own faith, he caused a place of worship to be built here in the shape of a mosque. To this mosque, he made a number of bequests which have been detailed in the inscription. The purposes for which these were made were: for the maintenance of the place of worship, the mosque; for the daily provision of worship, light, oil and drinks (in the mosque); for the provision of a *malima* (*mu'allim*), *modina* (*mu'ezzin*) and a monthly reader of the Holy Book; for the observance of particular religious festivals in accordance with the customs of the leaders or owners of ships; and, for the annual expenditure of the mosque. The festival specifically mentioned by name is *Shab-i-barat*.

The arrangement made for these appears to have been a kind of *waqf;* the details of the properties so entailed are then given. The concluding lines contain an adjuration that with the incomes stated above, the mosque has to be properly maintained, with due repairs being carried out " so long as the moon, the planets and the stars endure, for the salvation of the *nau* Firuz. Any surplus which remained was to be sent to Mecca and Medina."

The last sentence is probably the most important for it mentions a sort of

[13] Z. A. Desai, " Arabic Inscriptions of the Rajput period from Gujarat, " *Epigraphica Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1961, 1-24.

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administrative board for the management of the trust. These incomes are to be administered and the place of worship maintained jointly by the following *jama'ts* or congregations: of the *Nakhuyaorika,* owners or commanders of ships and sailors; of the *ghamchikas* or oil-men belonging to the towns together with their *Khatib* or leader of the prayer; of the Muslim *Chunakaras,* lime-workers or masons; and, of the Musalmans among the *patrapatis.* The use of the word *Shahr,* a Persian word may mean that there was also a Shi'a section in the populace.

The lengthy Sanskrit text has a shorter Arabic counterpart. The Arabic inscription gives the date, and other details regarding the acquiring of the land and the construction of the mosque by Firuz; it also contains the customary prayer which has been wisely omitted from the Sanskrit text: "....in the city of Somnath, may God make it one of the cities of Islam and (banish) infidelity and idols...."

Omitted from this part also, is the entire section dealing with the administration of the trust which has been formed and the various *jama'ts,* made a party to it. It is content with the statement that the surplus if any should be sent to the Holy Cities. Then follows the adjuration: "As for those who will seek to nullify this good deed or try to defeat its purpose either by word or deed or intention or demonstration, Allah or Exalted will know it...and he will be liable to the curse of Allah...."[14]

It is apparent from the inscription that by the thirteenth century, the Muslim community had grown out of its original limit of a trading one. It contained not only wealthy traders and particularly shippers and sea-faring men but also indigenously employed groups like oil-men, masons and possibly a heterogenous group of people with miscellaneous occupations. They were then, as now, organized in *Jama'ts* with a headman; the headman, the *khatib* of the ghanchi community was an important functionary. Since a number of these men hailed from Iraq and Persia, there appears to have been a fairly group of Shi'as among them, though this cannot be positively stated.

The relations between these men and their fellow-townsmen were most cordial. The shipmaster Firuz very probably obtained the piece of land on which the mosque was constructed as a gift from Brihat-purusha Raja Chhada, son of Raja Nanasimha, "in the presence of all the *jamaths* as well as of the leading men". This Raja Chhada is described as being a *dharma-bandhava* of Firuz, "persons who have become friends on oath in the name of their religious faith". The nature of the gift suggests that such may easily have been the case.

The date of the inscription is given in three eras in the Sanskrit text, Sunday, the 13th of the dark fortnight of the month of Asadh, 662 of Rasul Mahammada, 1320 of king Vikrama, 945 of the Vallabhi (i.e. Gupta) era, and the year 151

[14] D. C. Sarkar, "Veraval Inscription of Chalukya Vaghela Arjuna, 1264 A.D.," *Epigraphica Indica,* Vol. XXXIV, Part III, 141-50. Z. A. Desai, op. cit. 10-5. Also refer for earlier versions of these inscriptions, *Ind. Ant.* XI (1882), 241-5. Bhavnagar Inscriptions, 224 ff.

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of the Simha era. The date corresponds to Sunday, May 25, 1264. In the Arabic text, the date is given as Ramzan 27, 662/July 23, 1264, suggesting that it was completed slightly later than its Sanskrit predecessor.

No better proof could be found regarding the social organization, standing and the occupational patterns of Muslim communities in Gujarat during the Rajput era. During this age, these communities appear to have proliferated in all parts of this land though they were evidently concentrated more heavily in coastal areas.

Legends and stories have always supplemented authentic information and a story regarding these communities and the exceptionally generous treatment afforded to them by Siddharaj Jayasingha (1094-1143) has become celebrated by finding a place in the pages of the Turkish historian 'Ufi, who lived in the reign of the second Turkish Sultan of Delhi, Iltutmish.

" Muhammad, 'Ufi, the compiler of this work observes that he never heard a story to be compared with this." The story, summarized, is as follows. In Cambay, there were groups of both ' fire-worshippers ' and Muslims and incited by the former, a mob attacked the mosque and destroyed it. A *khatib* escaped the holocaust and attempted to reach the king but he was foiled by men wishing to protect the miscreants belonging to their persuasion. Finally, he reached the king when he was going out to hunt and made his complaint. Siddharaj determined to check it personally and feigning illness, proceeded to Cambay in secret, without his absence from the capital being known. There he learnt that the grounds of the complaint were true. Having ascertained this, he returned to the capital with a vessel of Cambay's sea-water. With this, as proof of his personal scrutiny, he faced his men whom he had rightly suspected of hushing up the affair and ordered that the people guilty should be punished and the mosque re-built at royal expense. The dauntless and pertinacious *khatib* was duly rewarded.

This mosque remarks 'Ufi, stood till it was destroyed shortly before his time. It was then rebuilt by Sa'id bin Sharif Tamim at his own expense.[15]

This fact, the construction of the *Jami'* mosque is corroborated by the first inscription of Cambay cited earlier.[16]

Evidently therefore, 'Ufi's story is not merely folk lore but is based on fact.

The reign of Siddharaj Jayasingha is not only the most glorious in the history of Rajput Gujarat and one of the most well-remembered ones in this land but it has also become one of the important landmarks in the early history of Muslim communities. In popular imagination, Siddharaj himself was the founder of *all* the important communities in Gujarat—no less than

[15] E. & D., II (Aligarh Cosmopolitan Publishers, Aligarh), 161-3. Z. A. Desai, op. cit. 5.

[16] Z. A. Desai, " Muslims in 13th Century Gujarat as known from Arabic Inscriptions, " *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. X, 305-7.

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three Muslim *pirs* are reported to have converted him to their own particular sect. The legendary Bohra accounts are definite that he accepted their faith and the genealogy of one of the most notable of Bohra houses is traced back to him, a line which has produced several *Da'is*. In Khojah memory, he is said to have been converted by their first missionary, Nur Satgur. Finally, in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is recorded a tradition that he was secretly converted to the Sunni faith by a *pir* of that persuasion.'[7]

None of these traditions, though entrenched in the popular mind and encrusted with legends, finds any support in sober historical accounts. No evidence suggests that the great Rajput ruler died in a faith different from that of his fathers. The purpose which these traditions have served, has been to provide each of these communities with a charismatic figure as its early champion and thereby invest it with a romantic halo.

Very briefly therefore, these stories may be examined.

The Bohra *rawayats* tracing the history of their community since its first preceptor, Maulai 'Abd-u'l-lah are common knowledge in the community. They are recorded in well-known historical works like the *Mosam-i-Bahar* and the *Dawat-u'l-Akarmin* as well as in lesser known ones.[18] Often, they form the subject of discourses during the first ten days of Muharram when obligatory meetings, in which these talks are delivered, are held.

In brief, the tradition runs as follows. Siddharaj Jayasingha warned by his magician preceptor that his downfall would be hastened by the Muslims swore to abstain from his daily meal till he had killed a Muslim. This daily killing continued until a *Momin* managed to excite the king's compassion and escaped with only an arm lost. He then carried this tale of woe to the Fatimid ruler of Egypt, the Isma'ili *Imam* al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah. The *Imam* ordered one of the divines, Maulai Ahmad to proceed to India.

Arriving in Cambay, Maulai Ahmad found his ignorance of the language an insuperable barrier in his task. He was however attracted to two orphan brothers, Ramnath and Rupnath, whom he saw playing in the streets. These he managed to secure and took them back to Egypt. They were converted, trained in esoteric philosophy and when mature returned to complete their preceptor's mission as Maulai 'Abd-u'l-lah and Maulai Nur-u'd-din.

The credit of founding the Bohra community in India goes to these two brothers, especially to Maulai 'Abd-u'l-lah for Nur-u'd-din is reported to have

[17] 'Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi: Khatimah* (Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1930), 106-7; translated as *Supplement* by Nawab Ali and Seddon (Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1928), 91-2.

[18] *Mosam-i-Bahar*, Vol. III (Bombay 1301/1884) 328-45. *Akhbar Da'wat u'l Akarmin* (Rajkot, 1937), 53-60. *Majlis-i-Ashuran*, 3rd day proceedings: Jhaveri K. M. "Legendary History of the Bohras", *JBBRAS* IX, 37-52. Najm-u'l-Ghani, *Mazahab-i-Islam* (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1929), 272-7. Abdul Hussain, *Gulzare Daudi* (Burhanpur n.d.), 30-3. *Khatimah*, op. cit. 129-32. trans. 108-110. *Rehla of Ibn. Battulah* Ed. by Mehdi Hasan (Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1953), 274-5. Hollister, J. N. *The Shi'ah of India* (Luzac and Co., London, 1954), 267-70.

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gone to the Deccan for his mission. His first converts were Kaka Akela and Kaki Akeli, a gardener and his wife, in whose garden the Maulai halted when faint with thirst and whose *bawali* (pond), he filled miraculously with sweet water even though a famine had scorched the countryside dry. The next convert was a local *pujari*, impressed by the Maulai's dialectical skill and his faith.

The third person to be impressed was more important being no other than the *wazir* or chief advisor of the king. Bharmal, or Raja Siddharaj Jayasingha and his minister Tarmal are in fact, the doyens of this tradition. It was the minister's garden which was being tended by Kaka Akela where the Maulai had halted and therefore when he next visited it, he was amazed at the transformation which had overtaken the bedraggled piece of land, formerly desolate owing to lack of water. He and his brother were therefore initiated into the faith by the miracle-working apostle.

The news of this conversion, though kept secret, was carried to Siddharaj Jayasingha by the minister's traducers. In his attempt to check on these stories, the king surprised his minister in the course of his *namaz*. At a loss to account for these strange genuflexions, the minister said that he had espied a snake and was trying to run it down and on a search being made, it was really found behind a large chest thus saving the minister's skin and reputation !

Gradually, the minister worked on the king himself and Siddharaj himself was convinced when Maulai Ahmad made the idol of Ganesh in the temple at Patan affirm the veracity of his word and carry water from the tank below to the temple up, at his bidding. Thus finally convinced, Siddharaj or Bharmal accepted Islam in 1143, though he kept it secret till his death later. Subsequently, his successors also continued in the faith, but they also kept it to themselves.[19]

Since *taqiyya* is an accepted, even a recommended practice in Shi'a especially Isma'ili doctrines in such situations, this fact of concealment did not in any way detract from the virtue of their act in accepting the right faith.

A tradition basically similar to the above tells of the arrival of the Nizari (Khojah) missionary in Gujarat at about the same time. This legendary figure, Nur Satgur, like the legendary Bohra figures also managed to convert the reigning king, Siddharaj Jayasingha.

The *Nakalanki Shastra*, one of the Khojah and Satpanthi texts records this tradition. Arriving in Patan, from Dailam or al-Alamut, Nur-u'd-din or Nur Satgur deliberately entered the most sacred temple of the capital and thus, as he was in Muslim dress, desecrated it. On being questioned, he challenged the worth of the ' true ' deity and then made the stone image of Ganesh dance by his orders.

This miracle made the *pujari*, the temple attendant, give up to the *pir*. As

[19] Idem

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the news reached the king, he hurried to the temple with his magician preceptor, Jania *jogi*. In the temple, the *pir* performed further miracles in the presence of the king; the stone idol spoke at his orders, carried a bucket of water from the tank below drying it up completely, for the *pir* to wash his face. As consternation spread in the city at the loss of its main source of water, the Ganesh, at the *pir's* orders, refilled it.

Jania jogi was next worsted; his staff sent up flying in the air was brought back ignominiously by the *pir's* shoe. A *jogini* was next brought in; she swallowed a snake but for once, by the *pir's* powers she could not eject it as she could do before. Victorious, the *pir* released her at the king's behest.

These miracles convinced the people present and as a token of their surrender, the ear-rings of the *jogis* were given over to the *pir*; they weighed five maunds. Both the king and queen accepted the new *dharma*.

From Patan, the *pir* proceeded towards the south, reaching Dharanagri now known as Navasari where his mausoleum stands today. His achievements in this region are described by his successor Pir Kabir-u'd-din.

The king here was known as Raja Surchand and his daughter Palande had taken an oath to eat only venison cooked by herself. A pound of venison was therefore brought daily for her but on this day, as the *pir* reached the area, all wild animals were collected around him and the hunter was not able to find a single deer. Finally, at the *pir's* orders a deer gave a pound of his flesh to the hunter.

As soon as she tasted this meat, Palande cried out to her father that her destined husband had arrived. Even though the bridegroom was a *mlecchha* from the western lands, Raja Surchand prepared to marry his daughter to him. The marriage was carried out with full Hindu rites and Nur Satgur was established in Navasari.

Another story relates the success which the *pir* had over a Hindu *jogi*. This *jogi* lived on the hillock where Nur Satgur established his seat and where his mausoleum now stands. The *jogi* challenged the *pir* to remain submerged in water with him; at the end of three days, the *pir* came out alive but the *jogi* did not.

Several other miracles have encrusted the legend of Pir Nur Satgur; how due to the machinations of a servant, he was separated from his wife though she was allowed to stay near the sea coast at Dandi where her tomb now stands. Here also stands the mausoleum of Mai Saheba or Ajani bibi either the mother or the sister of the first Indian *Da'i* Syedna Yusuf Najm-u'd-din, drowned after a ship-wreck when returning from *haj*. About them too, a similar legend is told.[30] All through his life, the *pir* maintained his reputation as an unparalleled ascetic with miraculous powers.

At the end of his life, Nur Satgur went for *haj*. He told his followers that though he would die there, his body would come back to Navasari. A coffin was later found floating in the river near the town; Nur Satgur appeared in dream to his followers and instructed them to have the coffin brought ashore. The

[30] *Dawat-u'l-Akarmin*, 89.

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coffin would not allow itself to be touched till the appointed people reached it; when it was opened, the body was found as if asleep.

The death is reported to have occurred on Ramzan 26, which is the day on which sandal is applied to his tomb in Navasari.[21]

The historical value of these legendary traditions is obvious. By all available accounts, Siddharaj continued to be a Saiva till the end of his life. The Fatimid Imam al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah ended his reign in 1094 while Siddharaj began his in 1093 thus making impossible the likelihood of contact, direct or indirect between the two rulers. The actual age of Nur Satgur is shrouded in mystery; according to one account he *himself* was Muhammad ibn Isma'ili ibn J'afar, the seventh Isma'ili Imam ! He was thereby over three hundred years old when he came to India.[22]

And at this time the schism between the Musta'ali and the Nizari sects had not arisen.

These legends have slowly developed to provide the communities concerned with a romantic halo and a charismatic beginning of their tenure in India. In the case of Khojahs, they also provided the authentication of that Hindu overtone, the importation of Hindu tradition and Hindu eschatology, which is an important part of their belief. For this reason, the figure of Nur Satgur has been endowed with values which are characteristic of Hindu miracle-working ascetics like being wedded to a Hindu princess with full Hindu rites in a ceremony which Hindu deities are said to have attended and also performed ceremonial duties.

Incidentally, these Hindu overtones led to the formation of a Hindu community which itself was a follower of the Isma'ili *pirs*, the line of which was founded by Nur Satgur.

The third tradition records the conversion of Siddharaj Jayasingha to the Sunni faith. A Syed Muhammad is said to have instructed the king in this faith though he was thrown into the fire for serving the king as a cook, in the guise of a Brahmin while he was actually a Muslim. Another figure credited with the same achievement is Baba Rajab.[23]

Whether Siddharaj Jayasingha was converted to Islam or not may best be left to folklore. It appears however certain that Rajput Gujarat received a considerable number of Muslim *pirs* of the orthodox Sunni persuasion from the North since the advent of the Turks into that land. This therefore was the third stream which entered Gujarat in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when

[21] *Tawarikh-i-pir.* Najm-u'l-Ghani, op. cit. 334-5. *Pirana panth*, 117-8. *Nur-u'l-mobin* (Ismaili Association for India, Bombay, 4th Edition 1961), 207-8.

[22] W. Ivanow, " Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat, " *JBBRAS* XII (1936), 60.

[23] *Khatimah*, 107-8, Trans. 91-3.

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we might infer that the two Isma'ili sects also spread in Gujarat.

Several inscriptions testify to the presence of these saints in Gujarat, established in different centres, like Baba Arjan Shah in Petlad whose tomb records the data 633/1236 and Baba Balan Shah, in 666/1266. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* also mentions a few *pirs* who came in the reign of the Rajput kings, especially after Siddharaj Jayasingha.[24]

There was thus a considerable Muslim population of all shades and sects, as Rajput rule drew to a close in Gujarat. The first Turkish invasion of this land by Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan was an indirect testimony to this fact; one of the prizes which 'Ala-u'-din's brother carried from Gujarat was secured after despoiling the Arab merchants of Cambay—and which was none other than Malik Kafur, the general of the South.[25]

The conquest of Gujarat by the Turks opened the way to a large-scale influx from the North. This period was therefore especially noticeable for the proliferation of cantonment stations in Gujarat where the armies of the conquerors were stationed. These soldiers at this time were mostly Afghans. And barely two decades after the conquest, the country was shaken by a rebellion of these Afghans; by then, they had established themselves in central Gujarat and held various towns and villages there.[26]

The rebellion of the Afghans in Multan, Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan shook the Sultanate of Delhi to its foundations during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughuluq, in the middle of the fourteenth century (1340-50). But the ruler who followed him, was more favourable to them. During the reign of Firuz Tughuluq, and he visited Gujarat in about 1360-61, there was an upsurge of Afghan captains and Afghan soldiers in this land.[27]

In the reign of Muhammad bin Tughuluq, the peripatetic Moorish traveller, Ibn Battutah, visited Gujarat. His remarks about Cambay bear out the fact of the coastal marts having large and prosperous communities of foreign merchants. "Cambay is one of the most beautiful cities, as regards architectural design of its houses and the construction of its mosques," he writes, "The reason is that most of its inhabitants are foreign merchants, who continually build there their beautiful houses and wonderful mosques—an achievement in which they endeavour to surpass each other. Amongst the great buildings of the city is the house of Sharif as-Samiri, with whom I had the affair of the sweets. I have never seen stronger pieces of timber than used in this house. Its gate is like the gate of a town and adjacent to the house is a large mosque which is named after as-Samiri. Among the grand buildings are also included the house of Malik u't-tujjar al-Kameruni with his mosque

[24] Idem 107-8/91-3.
[25] Misra, *Rise of Muslim Power In Gujarat* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963), 63-4.
[26] Misra, op. cit. 101-03. [27] Misra, op. cit. 124-5.

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adjacent to it and the house of the merchant Shams-u'd-din, the cap-maker."[28]

Inscriptions also show the wealth and generosity of the Arab merchants of Cambay in this and the succeeding age.[29]

With the rise of the independent kingdom of Gujarat, the influx of Muslim immigrants and the rapid developments of indigenous communities becomes too great to be summarized in a single chapter. The Sultans of Gujarat showed a remarkable willingness to admit foreigners within their circle. One of the most important lieutenants of Mahmud Shah Begada, the Admiral of the Sultan, was possibly a Cossack, captured by the Turks and later sold to the Sultan as a slave.[30] The Habshis or Abyssinian nobles gained in power during the decline of the Sultanate; by then other groups too, the Afghans, Syeds, Muslim Rajputs had become powerful.[31]

Two communities may however be noted. During the reigns of the early Sultans of Gujarat, a number of Rajputs were converted to Islam. In fact, a chain reaction was started, a process which continued till the end of the Sultanate. This brought into being the Molesalam Girasiah community, one of the important land-owning communities in Gujarat.[32] The Molesalams preserved their Rajput social system and cultural patterns and Islamic tinge was apparent in certain aspects only.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century, Syed Muhammad Jaunpuri and with him the Mahdavi doctrines reached Gujarat. This is not the place to discuss the life of this remarkable man or his doctrines; but he left an impression on Gujarat. He was greeted by surging crowds wherever he went and though the *ulema* opposed him and his ideas, his influence among the common people waxed rapidly. He did not stay long and on his way back, as he was going on *haj*, was killed in 910/1504-05 at Farah in Afghanistan.[33]

From this time, the *mahdavi firqa* or the mahdavi sect came into being and it has had its stronghold in central Gujarat, especially Dabhoi and north Gujarat at Palanpur. Its main votaries have been the craftsmen community, the Ta'is and a few Syed families, the *pirzadas* or spiritual preceptors of the *mahdavis*.

[28] *Rehla of Ibn Battutah*, 172-3.

[29] *Annual Reports of India Epigraphy* for 1954-55, 1956-57 and 1959-60 (Manager of Publications, Delhi).

[30] Commissariat, M. S., *History of Gujarat* (Longmans Green, 1938), Vol. I, 213-4.

[31] Commissariat, op. cit. 469-73. [32] Misra op. cit. 207-8.

[33] *Mirat-i-Sikandiri* of Sikandar Ibn Manjhu. Ed. S. C. Misra and M. L. Rehman, (M. S. University, Baroda, 1961), 170-1.

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CHAPTER 2

THE BOHRA COMMUNITY AND THEIR DA'IS IN GUJARAT

THE FOUNDATION of Isma'ili communities in Gujarat is an unique fact in Indian history. Nowhere else in India did these communities come into being in any sizable dimensions; nowhere else was the penetration of Islam as peaceful or the rise of the new communities so imperceptible. No other Muslim community in India suffered more at the hands of the iconoclastic Sunni rulers. And finally, none other have developed a business outlook which is distinct in Muslim communities. Their only compeer in this respect is the Gujarati community of the Memons.

It is not possible even to sketch in outline here, the fascinating story of the rise of Isma'ilism and its bifurcation into the two branches, the Eastern Isma'ilis or the Nizaris, represented in Gujarat by the Khojas and the Western or Musta'alis, to which the Bohra community belongs. Nevertheless, since the history of these communities would not be understood fully unless some of the basic features of its socio-religious organization together with the ideational framework which they subsume, are indicated, so an attempt is made to sketch very briefly the most fundamental of them. Particularly crucial in this matter are: in the first place, the position of the *Da'i-u'l-mutluq* in the Bohra community and the doctrine of *nas* by which succession is determined.

One of the distinctive features of the Isma'ili doctrines, is the highly developed theosophical framework which underlines its administrative system. This framework is patterned in a highly symbolic and mystic system of notations, grades and cycles. This is what is called the *batini* or the esoteric facet of the Isma'ili faith as distinct from the *zahiri* or the exoteric one. It is in this aspect which is treated as secret, to be revealed only to those who qualify for it and which is believed to unravel the true meaning of external ritualism and observance. The sophistication with which this inner and secret knowledge has been developed in Isma'ilism has made it often referred to as the *batini* faith.

This theosophy is reflected in the religious hierarchy which is implicit in the Isma'ili framework, known as the *hudud-al-din* which again is a part of the larger cosmogony. The highest position in this framework is accorded to the *Natiq* or the Prophet: he propounds the exoteric nature of the faith. He appoints an *Asas*, and he then unravels the *batini* or the esoteric significance. The *Asas* is also the *wasi* or the executor and successor of the *Natiq*. It was in this relation that 'Ali stood to the Prophet.

After the death of the *Asas*, his place is taken by the *Imam*. During his

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lifetime, he appoints the *Hujjat* who succeeds him as *Imam*. This line lasts till the next *Natiq* when the cycle starts once over again.

The *Hujjats* are of two kinds. In the first, there is *Hujjat-u'l-A'zam* who is the son and the heir apparent of the *Imam*. In the second category are twelve *Niharis* and twelve *Laili Hujjats;* the *Niharis* are placed in the charge of the twelve *jaza'ir* or the continents of the earth and stay there while the *Laili* are always in attendance on the *Imam*. They are responsible for the *batini* aspect of the *da'wat* or mission and remain concealed.

Next in rank comes the *Da'i*, or the one who calls or summons people to the *da'wat* or mission. These are of three kinds: *da'i-u'l-balagh*, *da'i-u'l-mutluq* and *da'i-u'l-mahsur* or *mahdud*. The *da'i* is followed by *ma'zun-i-mutluq* and *ma'zun-i-mahsur* or *mahdud*. The latter is also known as the *Mukasir*.[1]

The *da'i's* status has been defined elaborately in the books belonging to the period of Zuhur i.e. Manifestation. A work of that age lists elaborate and stringent qualifications for a *da'i*.[2] Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din, the present *da'i* has defined him as one who " invited the people to the right path of God by modestly preaching the virtues and the philosophy of Islam ".[3] During this age, the *da'is* were the missionaries who spread the gospel of the *batiniyya* faith in different parts of the Muslim world.[4]

In the Age of Satr i.e. Concealment, when the *Imam* with the twenty-four *Hujjats* and the *da'i-u'l-balagh* went into concealment, the *Da'i-u'l-mutluq's* position has become the highest in the visible world. It was now moreover, a purely socio-religious status he had got for with the fall of the Fatimid dynasty, political power had been divested from the *da'wat*, leaving it a persecuted and harried community. The position of the *Da'i-u'l-mutluq* as the supreme functionary of this social order has to be seen in the perspective of this perennial menace which has haunted the Musta'ali community for most of the past eight hundred years.

As the official head of the community, the *Da'i-u'l-mutluq* claims the unquestioned obedience of his followers. The much discussed covenant or *misaq* which is administered to every adult Bohra on the occasion of *I'd-u'l-Ghadir* Zil-hujja 18 is a pledge in which he affirms his loyalty to the *Imam* and his vice-

[1] A great deal of material of Isma'ili philosophy and social administration is available; for the clearest exposition in English, refer, Ivanow, W., " The Organisation of Fatimid Propaganda, " *JBBRAS* XXV. Hollister, J. N., *Shi'a in India*, 260-2 and 280-1. 'Abd-u'l-Husain, *Gulzar-i-Da'udi*, 67-8. The most detailed and authoritative analysis is however, in Urdu by Dr. Zahid 'Ali in *The Origins of Our Isma'ili Creed and Its System* (Academy of Islamic Studies, Hyderabad, 1954), Chapter II, 299-330. These references are specifically to the hierarchical organization, sketched here.

Some writers also mention a *Bab* or Gate as an official next to the *Imam*.

[2] 'Abd-u'l-Husain, op. cit. 136-215. This is a translation of the conditions as given by the 3rd *da'i* in his Risala of *Mujazat-u'l-Kafiya*, which is again a reproduction of a much earlier work.

[3] In *Zu'-i-Nur-u'l-Haq-u'l-mubin* cited by Abd-u'l-Husain, op. cit. 54.

[4] Zahid 'Ali, op. cit. 317-9. E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 411, Abd-u'l-Husain, op. cit. 54.

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regents and swears to refrain from any act which would prejudice his interests. An absolute embargo, social and religious coupled with exemplary penalties is placed on him who violates this oath.[5] This *misaq* appears to have been current in the Fatimid age as it is reproduced in an early text but evidently, in an age of persecution, it gained correspondingly in significance.

It has also been claimed that by virtue of his position, the *Da'is* share some of the attributes of the *Imam* and he is *ka'l-ma'sum* or " like-sinless ".[6] Though it was suggested in one of the pamphlets submitted in one of recent cases that " the Mullaji (is) a supreme being, inferior only to the deity who has created them all "[7] it is very doubtful if orthodox opinion, would go so far as this. However, he is certainly regarded as an exceptionally gifted individual in contact with the *Imam* through his intermediaries; on crucial occasions, for instance, when nominating his successor, he acts in accordance with the inspiration he receives.[8]

The extent to which the *da'i* is empowered to control his followers in their social and religious life has been and continues to be a bitter controversy between the orthodox and the progressive sections of the community. The progressives would like to see a greater participation of the community in the ordering of the *da'wat* affairs; the Syedna has with equal firmness reaffirmed his responsibility to those above him and the inadmissibility of his rendering account to his followers or their elected or appointed leaders in matters that have been left to his individual judgement.

As for the obligation of the followers to obey the *da'i*, the remarks of the learned trial judge in the well-known Burhanpur Dargah Case are worth quoting: " The distinction between obedience to the *Imam* personally and that to a *Da'i-u'l-mutlaq* duly constituted as discussed above, would show that the orders of the latter have to be obeyed only so far as they are in accordance with the holy *Koran* and also in accordance with cannons of true reasoning.... It is worthy of note here that obedience could broadly be divided into two kinds, viz. (1) obedience in matters entirely religious, and (2) in matters partly religious and partly secular. Keeping this broad distinction in view and applying it to obedience due from Dawoodi Bohras to the present Mulla Saheb, I find that in matters entirely religious, his orders must be obeyed as far as they do not come in conflict with the holy *Koran* and the sayings of the Prophet and the *Imams*; that in matters of the second class, his orders must be obeyed so far as their religious side is in consonance with the authorities just stated above and so far as the secular side is concerned, his orders must be obeyed insofar as they

[5] The text of this *misaq* has been given in *Gulzar-i-Da'udi*, 125-38. Zahid 'Ali, op. cit. 326-9. The trial judge in the Burhanpur Dargah Case referred to the *Importance of the Misak and its Scope* in his Judgement. (Judgement in Civil Suit No. 32 of 1925 in the Court of the 1st Class Sub-judge, Burhanpur, published by Tayebali Mahomedali Bhamgarhwala, Burhanpur C. P., October 1931, pp. 50-53.)

[6] Zahid 'Ali, op. cit. 252-4. Judgement, op. cit. 22 and 55-6.

[7] *BLR* XXIV 1067: It was contended on the Mullaji's side that he was *ma'sum* or sinless. Idem 1066. Quoted in Hollister, op. cit. 280.

[8] Zahid 'Ali, op. cit. 253.

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stand the touch-stone of reason. Coming to the application of these principles to the issue, I would hold that the plaintiff would break the *Misak* if he disobeys the Mulla Saheb's orders which are in consonance with the above tests but they would not be breaking the *Misak* if the orders disobeyed do not stand the said tests. "[9]

The *Ma'zun* is the deputy to the *Da'i* and as in the present case, is usually the heir apparent. The *Mukasir*, or executor is the next assistant, looking after important matters.

The *Da'i's* power over the followers is expressed through the *Amils*, his representatives in all important centres where there are Bohras. No religious or civil ceremony is valid without the *Amil's* express permission. He is the representative who receives the *misaq* on behalf of the *Da'i* and hands out the *chithi* or letter, with which the pious Bohras are buried. Only those who have been authorized by him can lead the prayers; and he can deny use of Bohra mosques, mausolea and sanctuaries to those who have been excommunicated or have in any way incurred the *Da'i's* displeasure.

Finally, the *Shaikhs* constitute the *ulema* of the Bohra community. With the improvement of the Saifee Madrasa in Surat, their number and quality has been generally better than before.

This in outline is the organization of the *Da'wat*. We may now pass to the next important matter, viz. the regulation of succession especially of the *Da'i*. Since most of the dissensions in the Isma'ili communities have arisen on the basis of succession disputes, it is necessary to understand the peculiar doctrine of *nas* which determines succession.

Under Shi'a law, it is illegal for the *'ummat* to select the *Imam;* the *Imam* must be unmistakably nominated and singled out by his predecessor. " It is a declaration ", the trial judge observed in the Burhanpur Dargah Case, " made by the *Da'i-u'l-mutlaq* nominating his successor to the office and its essential ingredient is that it should be so explicit as to leave no doubt as to the identity of his nominee. This is *Nase Jali* as distinguished from *Nase Khafi* in which the person nominated is not capable of identification."[10]

Though the principle outlined is applied above to the case of the *Da'i-u'l-mutlaq*, but it is of general validity, especially in Shi'a theology. The meaning of the word *nas* in Arabic is that which is crystal clear and in the open: in the technical sense therefore in which it is used in this context, it implies the very clear nomination made by the *Imam* or similar office-holder, regarding his successor. Thus the Prophet on the occasion of the Ghadir-Khum raised the hands of 'Ali till the whites of the arm pit showed in the open assemblage of his followers and designated him as his successor.[11]

It is not necessary to go into the complicated questions of succession which

[9] Judgement, op. cit. 58 (italics as in original).

[10] Idem 18.

[11] Zahid 'Ali, op. cit. 378-9.

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have bedevilled Shi'a history in spite of this fundamental provision. The two cases which led to the Isma'ili and later the Nizari-Musta'ali split are indications of the schisms which can occur when partisan tempers run high and the nomination tends to be vague. In subsequent ages, in India, the splitting off of the Sulaimani, and 'Alia sects has been based on questions of these disputes.

In theory, the *Da'i-u'l-mutlaq* is guided by the *Imam* when making this decision; it is therefore in the nature of an inspiration, one which it can be said to be made through but not wholly by the *Da'i*. The question arose in the Burhanpur Dargah Case. "The question arises", the Judge remarked, "why should the 46th *Da'i* postpone the matter though reminded of his great responsibility in the matter of *Nas* by the two brothers in the afternoon of 28th Jamad-i'l Akhar? The reason appears to me that the appointment proceeds on inspiration of the *Imam* as disclosed by a number of extracts on record and the 46th *Da'i* was apparently waiting for such inspiration for his intended nominee but it never came and he passed away."[12]

While in the case of *Imams*, it is essential that Fatimid blood should run in their veins and therefore the reigning *Imam* can make the *nas* in favour of one of his sons only, the same provision evidently does not obtain in the case of *Da'i-u'l-mutlaq*. Indeed, not lineage alone but qualifications, and if it be said, divine favour qualify a person for this high office. The intention was evidently two-fold: to prevent the formation of a dynasty at the apex which would stultify the spiritual value of the office and secondly, to invest the person of the incumbent with a charisma which cannot be given by the ordinary methods of succession. In a social system which was held together by voluntary adhesion the fulfilment of both these conditions was vital for healthy continuance.

It is not possible to provide even a bare idea of the early history of Isma'ilism in the first half of the second century A.H./latter half of the ninth century A.D. Nor is it possible to indicate the unusual efflorescence of philosophy and sciences in Egypt under two centuries of Fatimid rule from its foundation under al-Mahdi in 296/909 to its virtual and with al-Amr in 524/1130. For these, reference must be made to the learned works of de Goeje, de Sacy, O'Leary, Lane-Poole, Bernard Lewis, A. A. A. Fyzee, W. Ivanow, and Zahid 'Ali.[13]

It was by the close of the Fatimid age that Musta'ali Isma'ilism reached India, the Gujarat coast. Tradition has it in the reign of *Imam* al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah (427/1036—487/1094); actually it appears that it came half a century

[12] Judgement, op. cit. 27.

[13] The latest and one of the best studies of the Fatimid dynasty is Zahdi 'Ali's *History of the Fatimids of Egypt* (Urdu). Other important works are O'Leary, deLacy. *History of the Fatimid Khalifate* (Kegan Paul, London, 1923) al-Hamdani "History of the Isma'ili dawat and its literature during the last phase of the Fatimid Empire" *JRAS*, for 1932.

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later when the schism between the two wings had already occurred.[14]

Al-Amr, the last of *Imams* whom the Musta'ali recognized, was killed by a Nizari in 524/1130. He prophesied the anarchy which was to follow him and placed his child, the first *Imam* of the Satr i.e. Concealed period in the charge of his *Hujjat*, Maulatana Hurrat-u'l-malika, who was then in Yemen. The assassination took place while the last *Imam* al-Tyyab was yet a child and subsequently, the deputy placed in charge usurped the *Imamat*. At this, the four *da'is*, taking the young boy disappeared from Egypt and thus the Age of Satr commenced.[15] The fact that the *Imam* was henceforth to remain in seclusion is accepted by the Musta'ali Isma'ilis, the Bohras as a cardinal tenet of their faith.

For six years after his Concealment, the work of the *da'wat* was carried on by the Malika. It was she who nominated the first *da'i*, Syedna Zu'eb bin Musa, and on her death on Sha'ban 22, 532/May 5, 1133 the line of *da'is* commenced. From the first, the present *da'i* Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din, there have been fifty-one incumbents to this office. Of these, the first twenty-four were Yemeni; the first Indian *da'i* was Syedna Yusuf Najm-u'd-din who assumed office in 946/1539. Syedna Yusuf proceeded to Yemen which under him continued to be the headquarters but he had to face persecution and even incarceration under the Turks; with his successor, Syedna Jalal, the *da'wat* definitely shifted its headquarters to India. Syedna Jalal was the first *da'i* buried in India and henceforth, the *da'is* lived in India permanently.

We have already sketched the legends which from a historical angle have obscured but in popular memory have invested the foundation of the Musta'ali sect in India with a halo. In Bohra traditions the fact of Siddharaj Jayasingha's conversion is an accepted truth and an additional proof of this fact is provided by the lineage of the Rajput *da'is*, the 34th to the 37th, 41st to 43rd and 46th being traced to Bharmal or Siddharaj.[16]

[14] Supra Chap. I.

[15] This is the traditional view. Historical evidence also indicates that al-Amr left no son and possibly, when he died, his wife was pregnant and he appointed a Regent for the interim period. The issue however proved to be a female one at which, the Regent, the third son of Al-Mustansir-bl'i-lah assumed the *imamate*.

[16] The historical narrative in this section is based mainly upon two works: *Mosam-i-Bahar* of Mian Saheb Muhammad 'Ali Saheb bin Mulla Jiwabhai Saheb and *Akhabar u'd-da'wat-u'l-Akarmin* of Isma'ilji Hasanali. The *Mosam-i-Bahar* was written by a notable functionary of the time of the 47th *da'i* Syedna Najm-u'd-din; the author's father Jiwabhai was in close touch with the *da'i* himself for the 46th *da'i* is reported to have told him that God would make him a favourite of his brother Najmuddin, after his death (Judgement, op. cit. 20). During the Burhanpur Dargah Case, it was accepted as authoritative by both the parties (Idem 20). It appears however that subsequently the book went out of favour and according to some reports, deliberately suppressed, owing to its dubious version of the *nas* on the 47th *da'i*. Its copies were extremely scarce. This is however no longer true. Recently a reprint has been issued which also contains a table of contents which was not included in the original edition.

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Tradition credits the three founders with long lives. Maulai Ahmad passed away in 560/1164-65 and was buried at Patan. Nur-u'd-din who had gone to the Deccan, died three years later in a village in the Aurangabad area. 'Abd-u'l-lah died in 565/1168-69 and his tomb is a Bohra shrine in Patan. The first martyr for the new faith in Gujarat was Maulai Fakhr-u'd-din, the son of the minister Tarmal who was responsible for acquainting his master with the new faith. He was killed while engaged in a missionary task in the wild frontier zone which separates Gujarat from Malwa. The potentialities of this martyrdom were realized by the 37th *da'i* and his tomb at Galiakot is now an important pilgrim centre.[17]

While the headquarters of the *da'wat* remained in Yemen, the deputy ruled the community in India. The line of the *walis* is recorded in Bohra tradition and the earliest of them are said to have been descendants of Bharmal.[18] The evidence appears more definite with the establishment of the Sultanate of Gujarat—and what was more important to the community which had by then two centuries behind it in Gujarat—the appearance of its first and what was to prove most injurious schism.

In 836/1432-33 Maulai Adam ibn Sulaiman passed away, succeeded by

The *Mosam-i-Bahar* is written in the peculiar Dau'di Bohra Gujarati style, full of Persian and Arabic words and having inflexions and usages, not found in the standard language. It uses the Arabic script instead of the Gujarati, based on Sanskrit. Both of these have remained the characteristics of Bohra literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The *Mosam-i-Bahar*, is known better and will be cited by its title, not by the author's name. It was published by Mulla Nuruddin, Booksellers, Bombay, and printed at the Safdar Press, Bombay. The book gives no publishing date but the colophon at the end of the book gives Jamad II, 19, 1299/May 8, 1882 as the date on which it was completed. In the judgement on the Burhanpur Dargah Case also it is stated that it was written in 1299/1882 and published in 1301/1884 (op. cit. 20).

Only the third volume of the *Mosam-i-Bahar*, the details of which have been given above is well-known. It deals with the history of the *da'wat*, or the *da'is* in Yemen and India and while there are historical and theological works by individual authors, there does not seem to be any comparable work of historical importance dealing with the *history* of the community in the last eight hundred years. The other two volumes deal with the history of the *Imams* and the Prophet and were published subsequently.

Recently, a reprint of the *Mosam-i-Bahar* (Vol. III only) has been published by Mulla Qurban Husain Akbar Ali Godhri, Dholkawala Building, Ground Floor, Room No. 7, Police Court Line No. 7, Bohra Bazar, Bombay-1.

The *Akhbar-u'd-Dawat-u'l-Akarmin* is a later work published by Isma'ilji Hasanali Badripresswala, Rajkot, in 1356/1937. It was published in Urdu and was translated by Tilmiz into Gujarati, the edition which has been used here. It includes some additional details but is generally more concise than the *Mosam-i-Bahar* and often cites that work.

Since the bulk of the material used in this section is derived from these two books, references to them have been sparingly given. Only where special citation is required, is a footnote definitely stating the location of the citation is given. Corroborative evidence from Mughal and other sources has been duly mentioned with details.

[17] Abd-u'l-Husain, op. cit. 113. *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 336-7.

[18] *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 327. Genealogy in *Da'wat-u'l Akarmin*, 221.

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his son Maulala Hasanbhai. The *da'i* at this time was Syedna 'Ali Shams-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u'l-lah. One of the students who arrived in the *wali's* school at Ahmedabad was one Ja'far from Patan. Subsequently, he sought to proceed to Yemen to study under the *da'i* himself, a permission which the *wali* refused on the grounds that he had not qualified himself yet for that advanced course.

Disregarding his orders, Ja'far left Gujarat and appeared before the Syedna in Yemen. *Rawayats* report him to have lied to the *da'i* regarding his departure without leave and though the *da'i* had been informed of this fact, he forgave Ja'far and allowed him to stay and study. In Yemen he stayed for two years and asked leave to return; when the *da'i* enjoined on him to render due obedience to the *wali*, he stayed on for another year. He then left; he had then no authority to lead prayers or conduct any religious ceremony in Gujarat, a permission which could have been given only by the *wali* in Ahmedabad.

Ja'far landed in Div and was welcomed. Unaware of his limitations, the people in Div asked him to lead the prayers which Ja'far at first refused. When pressed, he accepted and led the prayers. Subsequently, he also led prayers in Bharuch and in Cambay, all without authority thus rendering them *ipso facto* void and rendering the people vulnerable to the serious charge of omitting their obligatory prayers. When he reached Ahmedabad, he was called upon to explain his conduct to the *wali*. Failing to provide a proper reply, Ja'far left Ahmedabad and proceeded to Patan. With this history behind him, he launched upon his campaign to 'misguide' the people.

In brief, Ja'far abandoned his Shi'a Isma'ili faith and embraced the Sunni creed. Bohra *rawayats* record with regret the great popularity achieved by him in north Gujarat. Mulla Raja bin Da'ud, who later succeeded Maulai Hasan as the *wali* in Ahmedabad, was at this time the *Amil* in Patan; he reported the state of affairs to Ahmedabad which in turn was carried to the *da'i* in Yemen. Syedna 'Ali asked the *wali* to come to an understanding with Ja'far but Ja'far remained adamant. Rather, he advised Mulla Raja to leave Patan which he did, moving to Morbi (840-41/1436-37).

Ja'far achieved a remarkable success in his task. Surrounding villages and towns appear to have surrendered to him with a readiness which seems surprising. By the close of the reign of Ahmed Shah, he reached Ahmedabad where the heir apparent, Mahmud Shah deputized for the Sultan. He also was won over by Ja'far and with the royal machinery at his back, he continued his missionary task with re-doubled vigour. Thus began the first spell of active persecution which the community suffered in India; Maulai Hasan had to go into hiding, mosques were closed for lack of attendance, and harassment of the faithful mounted in intensity.

This persecution continued till Ja'far's assassination near Champanir on Safar 13, 845/July 5, 1441. Bohra rawayats are reticent regarding his assassination and it can easily be inferred that it was one of the sorely inflicted multitude that struck the fatal blow at Ja'far. His period of oppression is said to have

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lasted for two years.[19]

It is a pity that we know little of Ja'far and that too from the rawayats of those to whom he had done a great injury. He appears to have been a man of independent spirit and considerable intellectual acumen and spiritual powers. From available sources, it is not clear why he should have acted in a way which he knew was not justified, for instance, in leading the prayers. Obviously, sheer perversity alone could not have been responsible; nor could personal ambition have taken this course. As it is, Ja'far and his activities mark a milestone in the history of the Bohra community. Schisms took place subsequently but they took place within the fold not on the fundamental issue of faith. But with Ja'far apparently the major section of the community seceded to adopt the Sunni faith; in the words of the eighteenth century Mughal historian, 'Ali Muhammad, henceforth the secessionists were known as the *jama't-i-kalan* or the Greater Community while the orthodox were referred to as the *jam'a-it-khurd* or the Smaller Community.[20]

The religious policy of the Sultans of Gujarat favoured this movement. With Ahmed Shah (1411-1442), in whose reign Ja'far began his secessionist movement, begins a period of what can be termed as religious bigotry, if not religious fanaticism. Ahmad Shah was the first to introduce *jiziyah* in Gujarat and to ravage the temples of Sidhpore.[21] And as has been noted above, he and his heir apparent looked upon Ja'far's proselytizing mission with a benevolent eye.

Nearly a century later arose another figure who completed the work begun by Ja'far. Syed Ahmad Ja'far Shirazi arrived in Gujarat from Sind and established himself in the favour of Sultan Mahmud Shah Begada and his successor Sultan Muzaffar Shah (1457-1512-1526). Till then inter-marriages between the two wings had been frequent and the social unit had not been decisively split by the religious cleavage. This was the task accomplished by the learned and purist Syed; he persuaded his fellow-Sunnis to sever all links with their Isma'ili brethren. The two *jama'ts* became distinct and separate after his missionary work, moving in different directions.[22]

In the meanwhile, persecution of the Isma'ili Bohras continued. In 924/1518, the *wali*, Mulla Raja Saheb Jamal-u'd-din bin Mulla Hasan was executed by the orders of the Sultan Muzaffar Shah (1512-1526). This Sultan, known as the *Halim* or Clement to the Gujarat chroniclers, was also noted for his

[19] *Mataam-i-Bahar* III, 117-27. *Da'wat-u'l Akarmin*, 61-6. The names of the Sultan and his deputy are mentioned in these books.

[20] This, as will be seen in the following pages, crystallized in the sixteenth century after Syed Ja'far Shirazi when the two communities became totally separate. *Khatimah* (Persian Text), 130-1.

[21] Misra *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*, 175. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 45-6. *Tarikh-i-Firishtah* (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1884) IV, 184-5.

[22] *Khatimah*, op. cit. 130-1.

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piety and partiality to his faith, an iconoclasticism which was exhibited on several other occasions too.[23]

Mulla Raja had been a gentle and learned man who devoted a great deal of time and effort to heal the wounds suffered by his community. He earned his livelihood by making and selling soap and personally attended to his 'flock', thus winning a great reputation among them. This reputation is said to have brought about his death; he alone was able to answer an Irani Maulwi sent to the Sultan by the Shah of that country—a proficiency which earned the Sultan's ire.[24]

Finally, as the Sultanate of Gujarat neared its end, last of these early Sunni Bohra missionaries appeared. Maulana Muhammad Tahir known as the Bohra was the first of a line of Sunni divines which provided the Mughal empire with some of its most iconoclastic and orthodox religious mentors, like his descendant, 'Abd-u'l Wahhab, who was Aurangzeb's *Sadr-u's-Sadr* and played a leading part in his persecution of the Bohras while at Ahmedabad.[25]

Maulana Tahir, like other Gujarati scholars, learnt his tenets at Mecca and after his return, imbued with purist zeal, undertook the reform of his fellow Bohras. So vehement was his fervour against the heterodox sects that he is said to have made a vow that "until the blackness of Shi'ism had been cleansed from the hearts of his tribe, he would not bind his turban on his head". And when Akbar came to Gujarat in 980/1572-73, he fastened the turban on the Maulana's head, assuring him of his support in his self-imposed task.

With the support of Mirza Aziz Koka, appointed *Subedar* by Akbar, Maulana Tahir embarked upon a rectification campaign in which he "abolished many of the customs of his tribe". Subsequently, however, he was disenchanted with the Mughal help given to him and unwound his turban once again. Finally, this zealous endeavour won him his martyrdom; he was assassinated by a Bohra while travelling between Ujjain and Sarangpore on Shawwal 6, 986/December 6, 1578.[26]

While crusading against the Shi'a doctrines, Maulana Tahir's success also seems to have been won against the *Mahdavi* doctrines of Syed Muhammad Jaunpuri, then recently introduced in Gujarat. In both these directions, he distinguished himself as a powerful champion of the orthodox faith.

The cumulative effect of this movement was to reduce the original Bohras to a minority. More than a million are reported to have abandoned

[23] *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 178-9. [24] *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 67-9.

[25] For some details of his biography see the Mughal *vade mecum* for prominent nobles during the Mughal age, Shah Nawaz Khan 'Abd-u'l Havy *Ma'asir-u'l-umara* (Trans. by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad). *Bibliotheca Indica*, 2 vols. 1941-1952 Vol. I, 74: *Khatimah*, 116-17.

[26] *Da'wat-u'l Akarmin*, 95-6, 165. *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 346-8.

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the Isma'ili faith[27] and today, the Sunni Bohra community is one of the most numerous, if not the most numerous, of all the Muslim communities in north Gujarat.

As can be easily perceived, these days were not happy ones for the Isma'ili Bohra community. The Shi'a doctrine of *taqaiyya*, dissimilation was invoked for safety's sake. Till the end of the Sultanate of Gujarat, *namaz* was not read openly in mosques; only in the time of Syedna Da'ud bin Ajab Shah when Mughal rule had been firmly founded in Gujarat did the Isma'ili Bohras feel secure enough to give up their concealed system of prayers and other religious rites.

It was in this hard-pressed age, however, that the first Indian became the *da'i-u'l-mutluq*.

Syedna Yusuf Najm-u'd-din bin Sulaimanji of Sidhpore had been selected by the *wali* of Ahmedabad for being trained in Yemen during the regime of his predecessor, Syedna Muhammad Izz-u'd-din bin Syedna Idris (1526-1539). Not only did he distinguish himself in his studies but he made a name for himself by his piety and gentleness. *Rawayats* picture him as standing by the Saraswati, unclothed " as Yusuf ", drying his clothes after a dip in the river, when he received the procession which had come to tell him of his elevation to the high office and escort him back to the town.[28]

For five years, Syedna Yusuf stayed in his native town, Sidhpore, where he built a tank and a mosque. Friction appears to have developed at this time between Bohras and other communities for some unexplained reasons. This led to the rupture of trade and other relations, causing difficulties to the Bohras. Syedna Najm-u'd-din caused new shops to be opened to cater for his followers which supplied this want; ultimately, the *mushraiqun* realized their errors and the cordial relations were re-established.

This is the first mention of commercial activities in and by the Isma'ili Bohra community. Obviously, it does not mark the beginning but the growing emphasis on trade and commerce, now being put by a community which was being gradually squeezed out of its traditional avocations by a hostile political regime. Simultaneously, the rapid urbanization of the community tended to the diversion of more and more people towards commerce. It appears therefore very likely that the character of the Isma'ili Bohra community as an exclusively trading community stemmed partly from its history of being a discriminated and persecuted community in the age of the Sultans and after.

After this, the Syedna left for Yemen, where also the Isma'ilis were feeling the strain of persecution. The Ottoman persecution, in fact was much more severe than the Indian and Syedna Yusuf was hard pressed by the authorities.

[27] Vide notes 5 to 7 above. Najm-u'l Ghani Khan, *Mazahib-i-Islam*, 316-7. 'Abd-u'l Husain writes that nearly *eighty per cent* of the community seceded (op. cit. 46).

[28] *Da'wat-u'l Akarmin*, 85-6.

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Here he passed away on Zi'l-qada 16, 974/July 4, 1567.

The Turkish persecution in Yemen made it impossible for Syedna Yusuf's successor, Syedna Jalal bin Hasan to stay there any longer. His brief office of less than half a year is therefore noticeable for the transfer of the *da'wat* headquarters to Ahmedabad.

Syedna Jalal passed away on Rabi II, 16, 975/October 20, 1567, succeeded by Da'ud bin Ajabshah. During his tenure, the influence of the Ja'faria sect under its leader Maulana Tahir registered a sharp increase. The Syedna is reported to have discomfited him in debates, especially when he was questioned about the practice of his community of observing the *I'd* according to a predetermined calendar rather than by the sight of the moon, by which other Muslims go.

By this time Mughal rule had come to Gujarat and the *da'i* no doubt encouraged by Akbar's liberalism thought of going to Agra to place the grievances of his community before the Emperor. This was felt by him to be urgent since the *Subedar* in Ahmedabad (Wazir Khan deputizing for Khan Khanan Abd'ur-Rahim Khan) did not share his master's liberalism. Some internal trouble also appeared to have flared up which necessitated his efforts at mediation and conciliation.

Before he left, he appointed Da'ud bin Qutbshah as his deputy in Gujarat, a fact which is emphasized by Da'udi text in view of the subsequent dispute regarding succession. From Ahmedabad, he is said to have first gone to Kapadwanj on Sha'ban 27, 981/December 22, 1573 owing to the high-handedness of the Mughal deputy; this appears to have been immediately after Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1573. Then he proceeded to Agra. In the capital, he was well received by the Emperor and the *Subedar*, Khan-i-A'zam Aziz Koka was instructed to see that no complaints of oppression reached Agra again. For the first time, therefore, since the days of Ja'far, the community became really free of apprehensions; the blanket of *taqaiyya*, dissimilation and concealment, was lifted and the prayers were said openly in mosques.

The Syedna spent his remaining years in Kapadwanj and other towns, restoring practices which had become unfamiliar in the long period of concealment and re-establishing communal organization. *Amils* or deputies were sent to Sind to further the mission and organize the followers. On Muharram 20, 986/March 29, 1578, he received at Kapadwanj the last Gujarat Sultan Muzaffar Shah III, then in rebellion against Akbar and put before him the high-handedness of his officials towards his followers—rather a pointless act since the Sultan was now himself in flight, though he is said to have freed the Bohras from all exactions in Kapadwanj.

After a remarkable career of about twenty-two years Syedna Da'ud bin Ajabshah passed away on Rabi II, 27, 997/March 5, 1589. Despite the activities of Maulana Muhammad Tahir which resulted in his assassination, the

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Isma'ili Bohras became really free under him after a long spell of concealment.

The death of Syedna Da'ud bin Ajabshah was the occasion for a further split in the community—this time on an issue of succession.

Syedna Da'ud was succeeded by Syedna Da'ud bin Qutbshah and the latter was acknowledged as the *da'i*. Four years later, the grandson of the first Indian *da'i*, Shaikh Sulaiman bin Syedi Hasan, then an *Amil* in Yemen questioned this nomination and produced documents substantiating his own claim to the office. The result was a split; the majority of the community upheld Syedna Da'ud bin Qutbshah and came to be known as the Da'udis while a minority accepted Shaikh Sulaiman's claims and are called after him as the Sulaimanis.

Since this was the first schism in the community on an issue of succession and in some ways, the most important, Da'udi literature gives a fairly detailed account of the events, an account which is moreover corroborated in every important detail by independent Mughal sources. What is wanting, however, is a detailed narrative from the *other* side. Since an ample treatment of this issue can only be attempted within the compass of a monograph, only a sketch of the events as they shaped can be given here.

As noticed above, at the time when Syedna Da'ud bin Qutbshah acceded to his office, Shaikh Sulaiman was in Yemen and from here, he wrote letters acknowledging Syedna Da'ud as the *da'i*. The mischief, Da'udi *rawayats* aver, was begun by two widows or slave-girls of the late Syedna Da'ud bin Ajabshah, their sons, Ibrahim and Ahmad, their two brothers-in-law, sons-in-law of the late Syedna and his confidential scribe, Ahmad bin Rajmohammad. Found guilty of embezzling from the treasury, they hatched the plan of using the stolen seal to raise Shaikh Sulaiman bin Syedi Hasan to the high office.

Instigated by them, Shaikh Sulaiman had drafts prepared which indicated that the *nas-i-ja'li* has been pronounced in his favour and sent them with a trusted messenger to Ahmedabad for being properly forged and sealed. Jabir the messenger reaching Ahmedabad contacted the conspirators, had the needful done; when questioned by Syedna Da'ud regarding the object of his visit, he boldly announced his master's claim.[29]

The Sulaimani position is naturally vitally different. The *nas-i-ja'li* had in reality been pronounced in favour of Syedna Sulaiman bin Syedi Hasan but since with the Turks in Yemen, he was not in a position where this fact could have been revealed, Shaikh Da'ud, the *mansus* was placed in charge of the office, as a temporary measure. The letters written by Syedna Sulaiman were a part of this game of hoodwinking the enemy; the truth was recognized by both parties. In fact, during the preceding *dai's* office, Shaikh Da'ud bin Qutbshah had himself written letters bearing his seal which communicated the fact of *nas-i-ja'li* to Syedna Sulaiman. However, once in power, he had no wish to

[29] *Da'wat-u'l Akarmin*, 110-2, *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 190-3.

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relinquish it and, when the time to do so came, he turned against his rightful master and attempted to prove himself the rightful claimant and Syedna Sulaiman, an impostor.[30]

At this time Shahzada Murad was the *Subedar* at Ahmedabad with another prominent Mughal noble, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, as his *ataliq* (tutor).[31] During the first stage of the dispute as it took shape, the Mughals remained out of the picture. Shaikh Sulaiman sent Jabir back to Gujarat and with the support of Zohrabai, Syedna Yusuf's daughter and Shaikh Sulaiman's aunt, his claim began to find some popular support.

Ibrahim bin Syedna Da'ud bin Ajabshah, whom Da'udi *rawayats* picture as the arch-villain of the piece took a hand in the dispute at this stage. His mother was an Abyssinian and he is called a *Habshi* in the rawayats. He filed a claim in the court of the *Subedar* for eighteen lakhs of rupees or one hundred and eight lakhs according to the other version, from Syedna Da'ud bin Qutbhah, as his inheritance or—what appears more likely—the legitimate due of the party which he represented from the estates of the late *da'i*, held by its incumbent.

This complaint brought in the Mughals in what had been as yet an internal dispute. Several prominent Da'udis, possibly the Syedna himself was imprisoned on this charge as Mughal officers investigated this claim.[32] The incarceration of the *da'i* spread panic among the Bohras but Sadiq Muhammad Khan was favourable and release from prison was not long in coming. The Da'udis argued that since office was not a hereditary one among them and the *da'i* did not own the properties governed by him but held it in trust for his people, this claim of Ibrahim was false and fraudulent.

Relations between the two groups rapidly grew worse and soon Ibrahim and another Da'udi group came to blows in which one person was severely injured. Da'udi *rawayats* declare that Sadiq Muhammad Khan to whom the case went threatened to punish Ibrahim for his temerity by having his nose cut off unless he acknowledged Syedna Da'ud, to which he at first agreed but later demurred stating that he would do so only if his preceptor, Shaikh Sulaiman, preceded him. The Da'udis rebutted this by producing Shaikh Sulaiman's letters in which the claim had been recognized, a fact which impressed the Mughal officials, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, Abu Turab Wali and Qazi Jan Muhammad.[33]

[30] Based on information given by Maulana Muhammad Shakir of Baroda, head of the Sulaimani community in India and Pakistan. I am thankful to the learned and courteous Maulana Sahib for this and other information regarding the Sulaimani community.

[31] For Sadiq Muhammad Khan, see *Ma'asir-u'l-umara* (Trans.) II, 658-62.

[32] Khoj bin Malik, a Da'udi writer whose several works in this period throw a flood of light on not only on the dispute but also on the social conditions of Gujarat in the sixteenth century, gives a detailed account of these events, especially of those in Ahmedabad. He also gives a long description of this town and its Bohra localities. Quoted in *Dawat-u'l-Akarmin*, 144-68.

[33] Abu Turab was a notable noble from Gujarat who had joined the Mughals and has written

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Their favourable reaction and its embodiment in a signed document was regarded as a great victory by the Da'udis.

As this development took place, Syedna Da'ud bin Qutbshah, anticipating trouble went into hiding.

Until now, Shaikh Sulaiman had been in Yemen where he had not only some success but also a taste of Turkish prison in which he had been languishing. Managing to escape, he arrived in Ahmedabad on Jamad I, 1, 1005/December 21, 1596. With his arrival events moved rapidly to a climax.

In the first instance, Ibrahim bin Ajabshah, emboldened, preferred to press his suit, because both Sadiq Muhammad Khan and Shahzada Murad were away in the Deccan. At first, the Mughal deputy apprehended both Ibrahim and Shaikh Sulaiman together with two prominent Da'udis; later however, he sent only Ibrahim and Sulaiman to Bharuch to await Shahzada Murad. The release of the Da'udis nevertheless led to their being freed as well.

Released from prison, Ibrahim bin Ajabshah and Shaikh Sulaiman decided to carry their suit to the Emperor, who was then in Lahore. It is however worth noting that contrary to popular belief, what was submitted to the Emperor was not the question of succession but the suit for money which Ibrahim had filed on the Syedna. How the two could be linked up is rather obscure; whether success in one was to be a step in the achievement of the other or any other plan was thought of, is not clear. What is evident is that henceforth the issue of succession and of the legitimacy thereof became secondary to the claim preferred on the Syedna by Ibrahim in the Mughal courts.

In pursuance of his plan, Shaikh Sulaiman sent his agents to Lahore and after a short while followed them himself with Ibrahim, now a leading figure in the drama. Deeply alarmed at this development, Syedna Da'ud, then in concealment, sent some of his chief advisers including Shaikh Safiu'd din, later his successor, to Lahore for countering the moves of his adversaries.

In Lahore, with the help of Khan-i-A'zam Mirza Aziz Koka, for long the *Subedar* of Gujarat, the complainants managed to lay their complaints before the Emperor. The very first thing which Akbar demanded was the presence of the Syedna in his court to meet the charge in person. This the Da'udi delegation in Lahore was extremely reluctant to agree to not only because the Syedna was in concealment but also because of their apprehensions regarding the treatment he was likely to receive—and according to the Sulaimani sources also owing to their doubts regarding their case.

The delay exasperated Akbar and he ordered Kamal Khan of Sirohi[34] to

a valuable account of the last days of the Sultanate of Gujarat the *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* which has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. For him, also see, 'Abu'l Fazl *A'in-i-Akbari* Trans. I, 506, Vol I. (Trans. by A. Blochmann, *Bibliotheca Indica* 1873).

[34] Again, a Gujarati noble, whose family later founded the principality of Palanpur. *A'in-i-Akbari* (Trans.) I, 622.

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proceed to Ahmedabad and bring the Syedna, if necessary by force, to Lahore. Reaching Ahmedabad, Kamal Khan undertook the search with great vigour and unnecessary harshness; Da'udi *rawayats* ascribe wanton acts of robbery and pillage to him. In the meanwhile however, Shaikh Safi-u'd-din had managed to contact Hakim 'Ali Gilani,[35] an Irani and a Shi'a; assured by him that he will guarantee full security to the Syedna and if necessary pay the decree in case, the case went against him, from his own funds and also warned by him that obduracy at this stage might prove highly dangerous—Shaikh Safi-u'd-din agreed to return to Ahmedabad and escort his master to the Emperor's presence.

On the delegation's return to Ahmedabad, Syedna Da'ud bin Qutbshah accepting the Emperor's word of *aman*, safe conduct, emerged from concealment to the great joy of his followers. Leaving Ahmedabad on Rajab 22, 1005/March 11, 1599, he reached Lahore on Ramzan 7, 1005/April 24, 1599 and staying only four days there with Hakim 'Ali Gilani, went on to Kashmir where the Emperor then was.

At this time, there occurred an incident which altered the entire complexion of events. Shaikh Sulaiman who had all along stayed at Lahore suddenly contracted at this stage, severe stomach pains and passed away on Ramzan 25, 1005/May 12, 1599. Sulaimani authorities flatly assert that he was poisoned at the connivance of Da'udi agents. This untimely death left only Ibrahim bin Ajabshah to carry the onerous burden.

The fact that he persisted in his task indicates not only his obstinacy but also the fact that he considered this issue to be an independent one from that of succession. Hakim 'Ali had him summoned to Kashmir; there both he and another Mughal noble harangued him. However, Ibrahim managed to get an interval of four months in which he could present his witnesses before the Emperor.

During his stay in Kashmir, Syedna Da'ud was treated by Akbar with consideration; on one occasion, he presented the Syedna with a Kashmiri shawl. As the summer slipped into autumn and cold began—Kashmir appears to have been hit by a season of scarcity and the cold was bitter thus necessitating a rapid descent—the Emperor constituted a tribunal consisting of 'Abu'l Fazl, Khan-i-A'zam Aziz Koka, Hakim 'Ali Gilani and Amir Ghizai to try the case at Lahore.[36]

Syedna Da'ud instructed most of his attendants in Kashmir and Lahore to return to Gujarat and reached Lahore on Rabi II, 15, 1006/November 25, 1597. Here he awaited the session of the tribunal which was to try the case.

[35] Abd-u'l Qadir Bada-u'ni, the author of *Muntakhab-u't tawarikh* calls him a "rabid Shi'ah" and a bad physician. He is listed as one of the Commanders of Seven Hundred in the *A'in*. *A'in-i-Akbari* (Trans.) I, 466-8.

[36] Altogether a "high-power" tribunal: 'Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's biographer and if it can be said, his conscience-keeper; Khan-i-A'zam, Akbar's childhood companion and five times *Subedar* of Gujarat, both belonging to the highest strata of Mughal nobility.

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The proceedings of the tribunal appear to have been rather cursory which is not surprising considering the fact that their only account presently available is through Da'udi rawayats. They represent that Ibrahim totally failed to answer the questions put to him by the judges and his case was dismissed. The Syedna subsequently waited on the Emperor and was granted a gold-lettered *farman* and allowed to return to Gujarat. Ibrahim is said to have been apprehended but when the Emperor was near Burhanpur during the subsequent campaign, he was released.

Finally in the last days 1006/July 1598, Syedna Da'ud left Lahore for Ahmedabad after a stay in the north of nearly fifteen months.

Another case like Ibrahim's was filed later but dismissed and the Syedna was not noticeably troubled till the very end of Akbar's reign when Mirza Shadman was administering Gujarat on behalf of his father, Khan-i-A'zam Mirza Aziz Koka.[37] The growing pressure in Ahmedabad compelled Syedna Da'ud to leave Ahmedabad. It was not for long. Akbar's death on Jamad II, 12, 1014/October 25, 1605 led to a change of *Subedars* and Shaikh Farid, entitled, Qulij Khan[38] replaced Mirza Aziz Koka in Gujarat. His relations with the Syedna were cordial and his subsequent life was uneventful. He passed away on Jamad II, 10, 1021/August 13, 1612.

He was succeeded by his chief lieutenant, Syedna Adam Safi-u'd-din who had an uneventful career of nearly nine years. After his death on Rajab 7, 1030/May 18, 1621, Syedna Da'ud bin Qutbshah's son succeeded him as Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab bin Syedna Da'ud. Another succession dispute arose immediately after, leading to a fresh split in the community.

The claimant this time was 'Ali bin Ibrahim bin Syedna Adam, the grandson of the preceding *da'i* and he was supported by his paternal uncle and two others. He proceeded to Lahore where Da'udi rawayats declared him to have cultivated the Mughal nobles. With their support, he petitioned to the Emperor Jahangir that he had been expelled by Syedna 'Abd-u'l Tayyab and he wished the Emperor to arbitrate and bring about a settlement. Upon this Jahangir summoned Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab to Lahore.

Like his father, Bohra rawayats aver, the Syedna prepared for the journey north. On the Emperor's recommendation, he forgave 'Ali. A reconciliation was arranged and both of them returned to Ahmedabad. However, 'Ali is reported to have been too unstable to keep his word; "one day, he would acknowledge; the other, he would turn away". Finally, a small group which bears his name seceded. The Alia Bohras are now a small community confined to Baroda alone.

Da'udi rawayats do not give a date for this interview but it appears to have taken place late in 1626 or early in 1627 when Jahangir was in Lahore after

[37] This is corroborated by 'Ali Muhammad Khan. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, 184.

[38] For him, see *A'in-i-Akbari* (Trans.) I, 354-5. *Ma'asir-u'l-umara* (Trans.) II, 534-9.

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his return from Kabul and preceding his last visit to Kashmir.[39]

Syedna 'Abd-u'l Tayyab passed away on Rabi I, 8, 1041/September 26, 1631 and was succeeded by Syedna Ali Sham-u'd-din bin Maulai Hasan, a descendant of the 19th *da'i* Syedna Idris (d. Zi'l-qada 19, 872/May 15, 1468). After nearly a hundred and six Indian *da'is*, he is the first Yemeni to have been nominated to this office. His tenure was however very brief since he died only a year later on Rabi I, 25, 1042/September 30, 1632. He was followed by an Indian *da'i* Syedna Qasim Zain-u'd-din bin Pir Khan, a descendant of an early martyr Syedi Hasan Pir, executed in 810/1407-08. His tenure was a peaceful one and he passed away on Shawwal 9, 1054/November 29, 1644.

The appointment of Aurangzeb to Gujarat spelt the commencement of a fresh wave of persecution for the community. His arrival in Gujarat on Rabi I, 1, 1055/April 27, 1645[40] virtually followed on the footsteps of the accession of the 32nd *da'i* Syedna Qutb Khan Qutb-u'd-din bin Da'ud Burhan-u'd-din bin Qutbshah.

The main responsibility for this wanton religious interference which heralded the later events to come rests with 'Abd-u'l Qawi, the Prince's mentor and close adviser. This person, ennobled in Aurangzeb's reign as I'timad Khan was, till his assassination in 1077/1666-67, very close to Aurangzeb and as the author of *Ma'asir-u'l-umara* remarks, he was very pompous and very bigoted. It was he who ordered the execution of Sarmad, a tragic event of Aurangzeb's reign.[41]

This religious narrow mindedness directed his attention, when he arrived in Gujarat with Aurangzeb, to the Isma'ili Bohra community and its head. Already prejudiced, he prepared a case for the correction of the ' forbidden practices ' current in that community and the proscription of their faith. It was alleged that the Bawahir held the rest of the Muslims as *rafizi*, heretics, regarded ' Ali as God and considered anyone who thought him secondary to the Prophet as deserving death, performed the *sijda*, or prostrated themselves, before the *da'i* and believed that giving presents to the *da'i* was equivalent in religious merit to *haj* and finally observed their *I'd* earlier than other Muslims. On these reports being put before him, Aurangzeb summoned Syedna Qutb Khan to his presence. The execution of this order fell to Shah Beg, the *kotwal*, fortunately for the Syedna, a Shi'a and therefore sympathetic to him.

Shah Beg arrived at the Syedna's residence early in the morning when he was busy with his *dars* or instructions to the pupils. The *kotwal* attempted to soften the rigours of the orders but with 'Abd-u'l Qawi in the background, it was not easy. As he was being removed, the *da'wat's* books too—the rawayats say that they completely filled *six* carts—were taken to 'Abd-u'l Qawi for scrutiny. The old man called his chief lieutenant Syedi Shuja-u'd-

[39] Baini Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, 421 and 424.

[40] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, 220.

[41] *Ma'asir-u'l Umara* (Trans.) I, 44-8.

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din and asked him to precede him. He was taken by Shah Beg to his residence where he was detained. The night was an anxious one for his followers. No fires were lighted in homes and an all night vigil, punctuated by alarums was kept up. This took place on Jamad I, 25, 1056/July 3, 1646.

Next morning, when the case was placed before Aurangzeb, he asked 'Abd-u'l Qawi to prepare the charge sheet against the Syedna. This intolerant Mughal censor, resentful of the consideration with which the *kotwal* was treating his prisoner, ordered the Syedna to be transferred to the prison, where he was then taken. Simultaneously, the books seized from the *da'wat* library were gone into for the preparation of charges. For nearly three weeks while this charge sheet was in preparation, the Syedna and his companions remained in detention.

When the prosecution case was complete, the Syedna was produced before Aurangzeb. Bohra rawayats assert that in the interrogation which took place, 'Abd-u'l Qawi attempted to browbeat the *da'i* but Syedna Qutb Khan's demeanour was so dignified and his answers so courageous that the censor was afraid that it might win him his release. Consequently, he ordered the prisoner to be taken back to the prison while he set about securing other and less fair means to attain his ends.

At first, he prepared a judgement embodying a false statement that Syedna Qutb Khan acknowledges himself to be a *rafizi* or heretic and hence his execution is justified. The chief *Qazi* however refused to sign this verdict unless this acknowledgement was made in his presence. To convince him and to prove the *da'i* a *rafizi*, 'Abd-u'l Qawi had recourse to a ruse. A child belonging to the *da'i's* immediate circle was somehow secured and coached in appropriate answers. Next morning the accused and the 'witness' were produced before the *Qazi*. The leading questions which were then put to the child are revealing:

(1) Is your Shaikh a *rafizi* or not?

(2) Do you or do you not regard 'Ali as or in the place of God?

(3) Do you or do you not hold 'Ali as equal to the Prophet?

(4) Are the *Khulfa-i-Rashidun*, the first three Khalifas who preceded 'Ali, regarded as inimical to the faith, or not?

(5) Do you regard other Muslims as *Khariji*, expelled or fallen, or not?

(6) Is *sijda* (prostration) done before your *da'i* in the manner it should be done before God, or not? Do you do it?

(7) Do you think that the *sawab* (religious merit) of presenting money to your Shaikh is equivalent to that of *haj*?

(8) Do you celebrate *I'd* in advance of other Muslims or not?

(9) Do you hold as *Ghazis*, those persons who kill those who do not regard 'Ali as equal to the Prophet?

(10) Do you consider the followers of Shaikh Qutb alone as *naji* (those who will go to heaven) and those who do not as *halaki* (destined for

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perdition)?

The child, innocent of the deadly significance of these loaded questions, answered every one, as he had been coached, in the affirmative. On the basis of this evidence, the *Qazi* though he understood the true nature of the farce, signed the judgement and issued the order for Syedna Qutb Khan's execution. This took place on Jamad II, 27, 1056/August 10, 1046 late at night.

Orders for death required confirmation in the Mughal age but this order does not appear to have been referred to Shah Jahan in Agra. During the night, in the presence of witnesses, the Syedna nominated Shaikh Shuja-u'd-din as his successor. Next morning, among widespread mourning, he was martyred. He met his end with the same calm dignity which had characterized him throughout his unfair trial.

The doctrinaire fanaticism of Aurangzeb and his religious mentor did not stop even at this; the dead body of the Syedna was sought to be dishonoured. It was buried in the sands of Sabarmati and guards were posted to see that it was not removed. Nevertheless, it was taken out and he was buried in the Bibipura cemetery in Ahmedabad.

The Muslim day is counted from sundown to sundown. Hence, the execution of the Syedna is said to have taken place on the same day, the judgement was pronounced, viz. Jamad II, 27, 1056/August 10, 1646. At the time of his death, Syedna Qutb Khan was seventy-one years old.

Aurangzeb's stay in Gujarat is tarnished by another act of gratuitous religious fanaticism, also inspired by 'Abd-u'l Qawi which resulted in the death of Syed Raju, the *mahdavi* leader and his twenty-two companions. He also desecrated a Jain temple. In brief, his *subedari* here was a fair sample of the policy which was to bring down the Mughal empire, which then was at its zenith.

Consequent on the execution, a vehement campaign to either purify the Da'udi Bohras or to expel them was launched under the aegis of the Prince. An order of his guaranteed *aman* or safety to any Da'udi Bohra who turned a Sunni while holding threats to the rest, with the result that a great number fled Ahmedabad, to escape the imminent denger.

Simultaneously, a number of new regulations were framed directed against the Bohras. Bohra women were to wear ivory bangles and their menfolk to smoke tobacco pipes and trim beards, like the Mughal nobles. For mosques, Sunni *pesh-Imams*, prayer leaders were appointed and those who failed to attend were punished. The community therefore once again took recourse to its safety mechanism, *taqaiyya; namaz* was read both at home and in the mosque and a double set of ceremonies came to be widely practiced.

Fortunately for the sorely pressed community, Aurangzeb could stay only four months in Gujarat after the execution of Syedna Qutb Khan. In November 1646 he left, after making over the charge to Shaistah Khan.[42] But before

[42] Commissariat *History of Gujarat* (Vol. II, Orient Longmans, 1957), 127.

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he left Gujarat, he made Syedna Pir Khan Shuja-u'd-din and his principal lieutenants accompany him in his campaigns. Before he left, Syedna Pir Khan nominated Shaikh Isma'ilji Badr-u'd-din of Jamnagar as his successor, in case he shared the fate of his predecessor.

Though the enforced departure of its head afflicted the community with a numbing anxiety, yet the departure of the iconoclastic Prince freed the Bohras from a heavy pressure. Shaistah Khan was no bigot. Discriminatory orders were rescinded, freedom of religion was proclaimed and those who had profited from recent disturbances were even fined. Sunni *pesh-Imams* were removed from Bohra mosques and their former incumbents reappointed thus restoring religious freedom to them.

Syedna Pir Khan accompanied Aurangzeb to the Deccan and then to the north. Bohra rawayats picture him to have been kept in a condition of hardship and indignity, in a hut by the side of the stables. In Aurangabad, the rawayats assert that the Prince had virtually decided to execute the Syedna but he was saved, as his death was not then acceptable to God. Probably, Aurangzeb had not made up his mind and therefore did not know what action to take.

Rawayats again picture the Syedna to be a model of patient dignity in these days of hardship. His release was gained by this composure. A fire broke out in the stables and Aurangzeb, visited the hutments adjacent, in which the Syedna and his companions were lodged. Courteously, the Syedna and his companions stood up to receive him. This gentleness in face of his persistent harshness towards them impressed Aurangzeb. They were released with costly presents and the small group returned to Ahmedabad travelling through Sironj, Ujjain, Dohad and Godhra.

The respite lasted till the arrival of Ghairat Khan as deputy for Prince Dara Shukoh to whom the province was entrusted after the transfer of Shaistah Khan, on Jamad II, 21, 1058/July 14, 1648. Ghairat Khan, a favourite of Dara Shukoh, who had administered Allahabad for the Prince, entered Ahmedabad on the Dashehra day, 1648/Ramzan 8, 1058/October 17, 1648.[43]

It could hardly have been expected that a deputy of a man like Dara Shukoh could fall foul of the Bohras or any other sect. Reports were however carried to him that the Bohras had collected a sum of rupees three lacs and had offered it to Aurangzeb as ransom for Syedna Qutb Khan. Aurangzeb refused it and had the Syedna executed on which this money was made over to his successor. It should therefore be recovered from him, by what logic, it is not clear.

Syedna Pir Khan disclaimed knowledge of any such transaction and for the second time, found himself in prison. After having been there for over a month, he sent a trusted agent, Ahmad, to the capital to move to secure his release. Ahmad did go to Agra but returned immediately without any result and in-

[43] 'Ali Muhammad Khan *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, 224. *Ma'asir-u'l-Umara* (Trans.) I, 338.

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formed the Syedna that he had been told that his task would require at least a year and he had therefore come back. Deeply disappointed, Syedna Pir Khan rebuked him for his failure—and laid the basis for another secession.

Finally, nearly two months after Ahmad's return and nearly eight months of imprisonment, orders were received to release the Syedna honourably. It is said that the Syedna went straight to Sabarmati to wash off the indignity of his long confinement; only when he was in the river that the people knew that he was free and came out to take him into the city with suitable honours.

Trouble on Ahmad's score now began. Not only did he feel mortified at the rebukes levelled at him but felt threatened with ex-communication, a potent weapon which had even in recent times been wielded with good effect.[44] Consequently, he began to draw together his friends into an anti-*da'i* move and his house became a nucleus of a hostile movement.

Efforts at reconciliation were made but at their failure the mediator, one Yusuf Chandji, joined Ahmad. The lead of the new movement was taken by him followed by Ahmad and Chandmiyan Abuji. In this order they succeeded to the headship of the new sect, known later as the Hujumiyan.

In the beginning, it appears to have gained some strength though its attempts to win over the Syedna's nominated successor, Shaikh Isma'ilji of Jamnagar, failed. In 1064/1653-54, when Murad was the *Subedar* in Ahmedabad, Ahmad is said to have complained against the Syedna and thus had him cast once again into prison. It was only when a great deal of money was spent, possibly in bribes, that the Syedna regained his freedom.

After his release Syedna intended to go on pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Hasan Pir. He stayed at his daughter's place for three days and on Zi'l-qada 6, felt sudden pain. Of this sharp intestinal pain, he died three days later on Zi'l-qada 9, 1065/September 10, 1655. It was strongly suspected that he was the victim of poisoning—the same idea that was to cling to the death of his successor nearly two hundred years later, the 47th *da'i*, Syedna Muhammad Badr-u'd-din.

Syedna Isma'ilji Badr-u'd-din bin Mulla Raj, the first Rajput *da'i*, traced ancestry back to Bharmal, the legendary figure whom Bohra *rawayats* identify with Siddharaj Jayasingha. Mulla Raj, his ancestor had been *Amil* in Patan when the Ja'faria trouble broke out, compelling him to move to Morbi. Since then his family had been in Saurashtra and it had contributed some notable Shaikhs. The new *d'ai* stayed at Jamnagar.

The Hujumiyan sect remained active during Syedna Isma'ilji's time though

[44] The Burhanpur Dargah Case hinged on this problem of excommunication and in 1962, Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din appealed against the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act of 1949 which forbade excommunication and won his case in the Supreme Court.

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efforts to win over Ahmad were made; otherwise, his tenure of nine years, embracing the early period of Aurangzeb's reign and one of the most prosperous in Gujarat, remained uneventful. On Jamad II, 23, 1085/September 24, 1674, he passed away and was succeeded by his son Syed 'Abd-u'l Tayyab Zaki-u'd-din.

It was in his time that the impact of the new religious policy initiated by Aurangzeb, the foretaste of which had been given during his short governorship of Gujarat, was felt by the community. By now, the famous interdict of 1665 had virtually ended that age of toleration which despite occasional lapses had characterized the Mughal era. Besides, Jamnagar had been made *khalsa*, directly administered territory, in 1663 and was no longer a safe haven.

Syedna Isma'ilji had not visited Ahmedabad after his accession but his son visited it by the end of 1085/early 1675. It is said that he wished to stay here permanently and for the time being all seemed well. On Rabi I, 15, 1091/April 15, 1680, he held a public assembly to pronounce the *nas* in favour of his son, Musa Kalim-u'd-din. By about 1093/1682-83, Bohra rawayats declare, reports against the Syedna began to be carried to the *Subedar*, then Mukhtar Khan, though the rawayats do not mention him by name.[45] Orders to arrest him were issued but the Syedna, forewarned escaped in time and reached Nawanagar (Jamnagar). In his stead in Ahmedabad, a number of prominent Bohras were seized and sent to Aurangzeb, then at Aurangabad.

From these rawayats, the real reasons of the *Subedar's* measures do not become clear. 'Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* provides another version, though he places the event in 1116/1704-05 when Prince Muhammad A'zam was the *Subedar* and Syedna Isma'ilji's son, Syedna Musa Kalim-u'd-din was the *da'i*.[46]

In this year, writes 'Ali Muhammad, that two men of the name of I'sa and Taj, retail-cloth shop-keepers by profession, were collecting money and spreading the principles of false religion. Hence the Prince, according to Imperial orders apprehended them, had securities taken and then released them on condition that they would not act likewise in future. However, the *Sadr* of the province reported to Aurangzeb through Shaikh Nur-u'l Haq that these two persons though apprehended by the Prince had been released on security, and they were continuing their work in clandestine ways; therefore if an order was sent privately, he would arrest them and send them to the Emperor.

Apparently in these matters, Aurangzeb listened more to his religious than to his political agents and the requisite orders were sent. Taj and I'sa were sent under arrest to Aurangzeb.

Simultaneously, another case developed. It was brought to the Emperor's notice that one Khanji, deputy of the Qutb formerly executed, was, with the help of twelve other persons, deputed by the *da'i* for misguiding the people into the ways of the false faith. Besides, they had collected a lac and fourteen thousand rupees for the release of persons of their faith, imprisoned by royal orders and

[45] Commissariat, op. cit. 182. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, 303-6.
[46] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, 356 and 358-9.

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this amount was still with them, unspent. In addition to this money, they had sixty of their religious books in their possession.

This information excited not only the religious bigotry of the Emperor but also his cupidity and he ordered the *Diwan* of the province that with the help of Qazi Abu'l-Fath, these men should be arrested and sent to the Emperor's presence together with the money and the books. In addition, and here the *Qazi's* sphere of action was defined, teachers for educating the Bohras, both old and young, were to be appointed in every *pargana* and town and they were to be compulsorily taught the tenets of the Sunni faith—monthly tests were to be given to them to see that they did not idle either by deliberation or otherwise. Regular progress reports of this educational campaign were to be forwarded to the Emperor.

'Ali Mohammad places these events, as we have seen, in 1115/1704-05 while Bohra *rawayats* ascribe the commencement of this persecution wave to about 1093/1682-83 when Syedna 'Abd-u't-Tayyab left Ahmedabad in face of a threat that had killed one of his immediate predecessors and haunted the other. About this time also, it is said, that Aurangzeb was informed of the two mausolea in Ahmedabad, visits to whom was held to be equivalent to *haj* by the Da'udi Bohras—and immediate orders were given to raze them to the ground.

Simultaneously, orders were given banning a number of 'objectionable' practices. Visits to tombs were forbidden. The Isma'ili *I'd* usually observed in advance to that of the other Muslims, since it is fixed by calendar and not contingent on the sighting of the moon, was proscribed and the Bohras were made to observe fast on their festival day and give it up on others. Mourning assemblies during the Muharram days were forbidden, both in homes and public places. Sunni *pesh-Imams* were appointed to the mosques and absentees were punished, if rawayats are to be credited, by flogging. Even death services had to be conducted by these functionaries. In brief, prohibited practices were forced upon the Bohras and the enjoined ones prohibited. And to climax it all, large money exactions were made in every place.

In Nawanagar, an attempt to seize Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab fortunately miscarried. The age of Ja'far and Kamal Khan, Bohra *rawayats* declare, returned once again. A virtually universal *taqaiyya* blanketed the community and robbed it of most of its activity in the face of these inquisitorial regulations.

At the same time, severe famines broke out in Gujarat and the Deccan. Bohra accounts do not give the years of this visitation but it was evidently the famine of 1684-85 which caused widespread distress. *Rawayats* declare that even Auranzeb was moved to ask his prisoners pray for rain—and when their prayers were answered, he is said to have relented and released them as well as reduced the pressure on the sorely pressed community.

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The effort to seize him in Nawanagar made the Syedna leave that town too and retire to Khambhalia, the capital of the expelled Jadeja ruler of Jamnagar. It was here that he lived during the period of trial through which his followers were made to pass. It was in Nawanagar however that he died on Zi'l-qada 12, 1110/May 12, 1699, succeeded by his son, Syedna Musa Kalim-u'd-din.

The tenure of Syedna Musa Kalim-u'd-din was synonymous with the last decade of the 'Alamgiri era. But somehow, it is not clear why, trouble with the Jadeja ruler of Jamnagar, also living in Khambhalia since the establishment of Mughal rule in Jamnagar, developed. This ruler, though the Bohra *rawayats* do not give his name, was Lakhaji (1690-1709).[47] The trouble resulted in the imprisonment of the Syedna's son and the nominated successor, Syedi Nur Muhammad. While his father was in office, Syedi Nur Muhammad remained in detention most of the time and was released only after the payment of three lacs of Mahmudis—a Gujarati coin which appears to have been current in that distant part of Saurashtra.

The imprisonment of his son affected the Syedna deeply and it is said that he passed away the very next day his son was released (Rabi I, 22, 1123/May 21, 1710).

On his release and accession, Syedna Nur Muhammad Nur-u'd-din left Nawanagar for Dhrol where he stayed but after the death of Jam Lahkaji, his son Jam Raisinghji (1709-18), invited him back to that city.[48] On his return, he built a large mosque in that town. Subsequently, he moved to Mandvi where he died on Rajab 4, 1130/May 4, 1718, succeeded by his cousin and brother-in-law Syedna Isma'ilji Badr-u'd-din bin Shaikh Adam Safi-u'd-din.

The pressure from the Jam appears to have been revived in the days of Syedna Isma'ilji and he had to move from Jamnagar to Kacchh, first staying for sometime in Mundra and then in Anjar. For a time therefore, Kacchh became the headquarters of the *da'wat*.

Syedna Isma'il is known for his liberality to poor students and for his partiality for playing the host, so much so that he is credited with establishing a tradition of treating a guest with exemplary hospitality. Besides, he laid down four rules to strengthen the *da'wat*; not to give communal dinners without the permission of the *da'i* for it entailed ruinous expenditure often for those who were unable to bear it; to have the *namaz-i-wasiqa* read; to attend the ten mourning assemblies held during the first days of Muharram; and to read a chapter of *Qura'an* after every morning prayer.

In his time, the Hujumiyans returned to the fold, its *da'i*, Latifbhai, submitting to the *Ma'zun* and being made a Shaikh.

[47] Commissariat, op. cit. II, 169.

[48] Bohra rawayats do not give the name of the person who harassed the Syedna, whether he was a Mughal official at Nawanagar or the Jam. Since a few references are made to the Jam, it appears that it was the Jam in Khambhalia who was involved.

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The *da'i* is said to have been pressed to re-establish his headquarters in Ahmedabad but he preferred Saurashtra. In Mundra, Kacchh, he pronounced the *nas* on his successor Syedi Wajih-u'd-din bin Syedi 'Abd-u'l Qadir Hakim-u'd-din. He came back to Nawanagar where he passed away on Muharram 7, 1150/May 7, 1737.

Syedna Ibrahim Wajih-u'd-din's accession marks a shift both in the dynastic line and the headquarters of the *da'wat*. His father Syedi 'Abd-u'l Qadir Hakim-u'd-din belonged to Malwa, having been settled for long in Rampur, a small principality in north-west Malwa whose ruler had accepted Islam during the reign of Shah Jahan. He had risen during the office of the late *da'i* and his influence had been widespread in Malwa and neighbouring areas, outside Gujarat. During the latter half of Syedna Isma'il's reign, he had been his *Ma'zun* and would have succeeded him had he not died in Burhanpur on Shawwal 5, 1142/April 23, 1730.

Syedna Ibrahim received the message of his elevation and a testament of his predecessor at Ujjain which became his headquarters. The testament clearly laid out that the *da'wat* was destined for Shaikh Adam Safi-u'd-din bin Syedna Nur Muhammad Nur-u'd-din; in other words, a return to the former dynasty.

Much of the attention of Syedna Ibrahim were spent in arranging matches between his family and of the late *da'i* which would strengthen its position in the *da'wat*. He married his daughter to 'Abd-i-Musa, and his son's daughter to Syedi 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab both sons of Syedna Isma'il. These marriages took place in 1150/1737-38 soon after his accession. Nearly ten years later in 1160/1747-48, he married the widow of Shaikh Adam Safi-u'd-din, who had died in the meanwhile, to his son and nominated successor Syedna Hibt-u'l-lah Mu'yiad.

Even with these preparations, the Syedna found it hard to bypass the definite injunction laid down in his predecessor's testament until he is said to have been supernaturally inspired to pronounce the *nas* in favour of his son, Syedi Hibt-u'l-lah, for Shaikh Adam was to be 'joined to his forefathers' soon. This he did shortly before 1158/1745, when Shaikh Adam passed away.

The unsettled period in Malwa, during the age of transition in the eighteenth century had led to the growth in the power of petty rulers. The Bohras and their leaders, as a trading community attracted attention in these times of trouble. In Rampur, the death of the ruler favourable to the Bohras led to trouble with Syedi Hibt-u'l-lah who was there. In Ujjain, a similar pressure was felt which led both Syedna Ibrahim and his son to proceed to Burhanpur where Syedi Hakim-u'd-din was buried. For five years, till the beginning of 1158/February 1745, he remained at Burhanpur which became one of the important centres of the community.

The rest of Syedna's life was spent in Ujjain and Rampur. His son and nominated successor, Syedi Hibt-u'l-lah undertook wide tours. In Surat,

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the community had some trouble for the covetous glances of the Nawab had been attracted by this trading community, as Bohra rawayats assert. More probably, the Syedna became involved in the conflict of power then raging at Surat, before the English occupation early in 1759.

He was arrested and released on a security of a lac of rupees but before the matters proceeded further, he left Surat secretly and managed to gain Billimora which was in Gaekwar territory. From there, he proceeded to Songarh and thence to Ujjain which he reached late in 1177/middle of 1764.

It was about this time that the Hibt-u'l-lah sect came into existence. Its two leaders were Shaikh Isma'il-bin 'Abd-u'l Rasul and his son Shaikh Hibt-u'l-lah. Shaikh Isma'il had studied under Syedi Luqmanji, one of the noted teachers of the age and had himself been given the status of the Shaikh by the Syedna. Briefly, the Hibtia claim was that they had established direct contact with the *Imam* and the position of the *Da'i-u'l-balagh*, a higher one than that of *Da'i-u'l-mutlug* had been awarded to Shaikh Isma'il. Thus they had replaced the existing *da'wat* by virtue of their superior authority.

The same claim was preferred by Hibt-u'l-lah later and also his successor Sulaiman. Bohra rawayats declare that Hibt-u'l-lah also claimed to be the son-in-law of the *Imam* and thus far outrank the Syedna in status. By these claims, it appeared that Hibt-u'l-lah and his partisans expected the Syedna and his staff to yield their places to them.[49]

This was a novel method and by its nature not without sincerity. Syedna Hibt-u'l-lah is said to have attempted to conciliate his namesake and bring him back quietly to the fold but without success. For a time, it appeared that they submitted but then, they fled to Lunawara where they propagated their doctrines. By this time, the nucleus of an organization of the seceders had also taken shape; when at the Syedna's instance, Isma'il was seized in Lunawara, his *Ma'zun* fled the place. They were brought back to Ujjain and again, Isma'il submitted. The effect was short-lived. Soon they reasserted the claim and the Syedna had to restrain his votaries from laying violent hands on him.

Nevertheless, this immunity lasted only a few days and in a second attack on their return to Ujjain Shaikh Isma'il managed to break free, but his son lost his nose. "Apparently, the mania of the orthodox Bohra fanatics of Ujjain", writes Mianbhai Mulla Abdul Husain, author of the *Gulzar-e-Daudi*, "for cutting the noses of a dissenter is getting hereditary for recently they have cut the nose of a suspected dissenter who had joined the Mahdibagh camp."[50]

Several legends are recorded related Hibt-u'l-lah. The *Mosam-i-Bahar* records them in detail. He claimed to have been appointed the superiormost functionary in the Isma'il hierarchy, next to the *Imam* and to have married

[49] *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 430-502, esp. 447. In the *Da'wat u'l-Karmin*, details are omitted.

[50] 'Abd-u'l Husain, *Gulzar-i-Daudi* 49.

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his daughter. Evidently, such high-flown claims were not likely to be entertained and the stringent opposition of the orthodox group backed by the consistent tours of the Syedna succeeded in quashing their mission. A fact which was profitably used against them was the dubious marriage which Hibt-u'l-lah consummated with one of his father's divorced wives.

Both Shaikh Isma'il and his son were distinguished scholars. They compiled an extremely valuable bibliographical catalogue of Isma'ili works called the *Fihrist al-Majdu* on the basis of which Ivanow's *Guide to Isma'ili Literature* was prepared.[51] Some of the notable scholars of the age, close to the *da'i*, whose names are given in the rawayats, praise them; one of them, a grandson of the celebrated scholar Syedi Luqmanji, remarks in his work, in praise of Shaikh Isma'il, that by comparison to these two scholars, the *bayans* (speeches and writings) of the orthodox Shaikhs are like the skins (of fruits) while theirs are like the real kernel inside.[52] Evidently, they made their mark, though it was not long-lived.

The short-lived ascendancy of the Hibtia sect made Syedna Hibt-u'l-lah maintain the tempo of his touring activities among his followers. After a tour of Malwa, he went to Aurangabad on the invitation of Shaikh Jiwanji bin Shaikh Dau'dbhai, from whom was to commence the third line of *da'is*, after the present two. Here however, he faced trouble for the local official became covetous of his wealth and he had to leave the town. He stayed for some time in Daulatabad.

News of trouble flaring up in Ujjain was received, compelling the Syedna to return. Passing through Burhanpur, he reached his headquarters on Safar 2, 1183/June 7, 1769. Here a sharp quarrel appears to have been precipitated between two groups of Bohras. The reasons of this trouble are not clear. In Ujjain, the Syedna stayed on for some time more and then embarked on his tours.

During this tour, the Syedna visited Burhanpur and then Surat where he reached on Rabi I, 1, 1186/June 2, 1772. At this time Surat was controlled by the English under the nominal suzerainty of the Nawab and representatives of the Syedna had approached the English headquarters in Bombay for procuring the safe-conduct, probably required in view of his earlier escape from the town. For the next three years, he stayed in Surat, which now, with the English security given to it, began to assume greater importance in the affairs of the *da'wat*.

In 1188-90/1774-76, the Syedna toured Gujarat before returning to Ujjain. Trouble occurred here also but the Syedna is said to have overcome it. He went to Rampur and Sironj on short visits but by now his health had begun to decline. He passed away on Shaban 1, 1193/August 14, 1779.

[51] Zahid 'Ali, op. cit. 662.

[52] *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 492. *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 291.

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Syedna Hibt-u'l-lah was an accomplished man, among other things an Urdu poet. His career bridged an important transition period during which he gave to his people an able guidance. His defence against the Hibt-u'l-lah attack protected the community from a serious secession, and from the Bohra accounts, both the leading figures in this movement appear to have been men of considerable ability. His political relations were equally consummate; with the Mughal Emperor, Shah 'Alam from whom he received a farman for the *Qazishlp* of Ujjain, with Peshwa Madhav Rao and Nana Phadnvis whom he visited in Poona, with Mahadaji Sindhia and the Holkar rulers of Indore and finally with the British who by this time had come to control south Gujarat —with all these powers, generally at loggerheads with each other—he maintained cordial relationships.[53]

The dynasty of Malwa was however short-lived. Syedna Hibt-u'l-lah was succeeded by his son-in-law 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab Zaki-u'd-din bin Syedna Isma'ilji Badr-u'd-din. This meant the Rajput dynasty. This also meant the abandonment of Ujjain as the headquarters; Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab remained mostly in Jamnagar and died in Burhanpur.

Much of Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab's time was spent in Gujarat where British influence was fast replacing that of the Marathas. It was in Kacchh that he received the news of his elevation and from there he came to Jamnagar where he appointed his son Adam Safi-u'd-din as his *Ma'zun*. In 1194-95/1781-82, he stayed in Surat. The use of liquor and tobacco, rather surprisingly, was on the increase among the Bohras of this town. This he forbade before returning to Jamnagar from where he left for Burhanpur in 1199/1785. In this town, he passed away on Safar 2, 1200/December 5, 1785.

His son, Syedna Muhammad Yusuf Najm-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab Zaki-u'd-din was only twenty-three when he succeeded his father. With him, Surat became the headquarters of the *da'wat*, most probably because, the direct control of the English made it a welcome asylum. He is said to have continued his father's crusade against the undesirable habits which had crept in amongst the Bohras. In 1202/1786-87, when a famine threatened Surat, he proceeded to Jamnagar, his ancestral seat.

Subsequently, he proceeded to Burhanpur where he married his brother, and later his successor, to the sister of Miansaheb Jiwanji of Aurangabad, whose family began now to gain in importance. He then toured Malwa before returning to Surat where he built the spacious buildings in which he lived and which became the headquarters of the *da'wat*.

It appears that the Syedna suffered from ill-health from the beginning, a malady which began to grow serious after 1213/1798. He hardly moved out of Surat in his later days and on Jamad II, 16, 1213/November 27, 1798, he passed away.

[53] Syedna 'Abd-u'l Qadir Najm-u'd-din's Persian letter to W. E. Brere, Agent to the Governor of Bombay, Surat, reproduced in the *Gulzar-i-Daudi*, 216-20.

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He was only thirty-four.

He was succeeded by his brother Syedna 'Abde-'ali Saif-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u't-Tayyab Zaki-u'd-din, only twenty-four years old at this time. From Surat, he proceeded to Morbi where he preferred to stay and which he developed. However, he appears to have been troubled by the unsettled conditions around which made the livelihood of his people difficult besides rendering them an easy target for local potentates.

The year after his accession, 1214/1799-1800, one Chandji Kharji created some 'trouble' in Aurangabad, the reason of which is not given. Syedna 'Abde-'Ali sent the *Amil* of Bombay to pacify the trouble which he did. This was followed by a series of bereavements for him in which two of his wives passed away and on Zi'l-qada 7, 1217/February 1, 1803 his brother Syedi 'Abd-u'l Qadir Hakim-u'd-din died. This affected him deeply.

Other troubles followed. News from Malwa reported tension in Rampur while in Bombay a widespread fire affected many people. Political troubles were reported from Ratangarh in Malwa. In Gujarat itself, natural calamities afflicted the people. First the Tapti rose in floods and flooded Surat and later in 1220/ 1805, there was widespread famine in northern Saurashtra. On both occasions, the Syedna is said to have helped the people considerably.[54]

His name is also associated with the foundation of the *dars* or school, which has now expanded into the Jami'a Saifiya. He is also credited with the preparation and implementation of a code for the help and guidance of the *Amils* which defined their duties and effected a great improvement in their work. He also laid down that while attendance in mourning assemblies for the first ten days of Muharram was obligatory, vulgar practices, like public wailing and beating the breasts during these days, were to be strictly forbidden.

On the whole, the Syedna's tenure was quiet. Like his brother however, he also suffered from ill-health. In 1228/1813, its effects began to be apparent and he died on Zi'l-qada 12, 1232/September 23, 1817.

Syedna 'Abde-'ali Saif-u'd-din's office saw the virtual end of Maratha domination in Central India and the pacification of that land by the subjugation of the Sindhia and Holkar rulers. Simultaneously in Gujarat, the British emerged supreme though it was not until 1820 that Saurashtra was fully pacified. The age of persecution was now virtually at an end though the age of his successor had its share of minor troubles. Problems of a different sort came in, especially regarding the organization of the community, not in a time of tension when it is relatively easy, but in a time of peace.

That this was by no means easy was indicated by the troubles experienced by his successors. In part, they appeared to have begun with his immediate successor—Mohammad Izz-u'd-din bin Shaikh Jiwanji Aurangabadi who was his

[54] The compendium of the town of Surat *Surat—sona ni murat* (Ishwarlal Iccharam Desai, Surat, 1949) gives a description of these floods, p. 130.

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wife's brother but was fifteenth in the order of his *hudud*, the official hierarchy. It is by no means clear what lay behind this nomination and why, when it was first made in 1228/1813, the Syedna ordered it to be kept a secret. Obviously, he anticipated opposition, though there was no widespread trouble immediately, as the historians note.

It is possible that as had been the case previously, the Syedna wished to preserve the right of his two young sons. The Rajput dynasty could once again stage a come-back as it did previously. Some such understanding appears to have been there, however vague it might have been, and in turn, it did affect the position of the new dynasty. It is true that the idea of *nas* theoretically rules out dynastic consideration but patterns which had been apparent in the past amply proved that this was not always possible.

The life of Syedna Muhammad Izz-u'd-din was unfortunately, like his two predecessors, short. He was twenty-nine when he succeeded and died four years later on Ramzam 19, 1236/June 20, 1821 after nominating his elder brother Syedna Tayyab Zain-u'd-din as his successor.

Syedna Tayyab had to face trouble—disasters, natural and man made, from the very inception. The very next year after his accession, Surat had unprecedented floods which scarred its memory for years to come. And in 1239/1839, he was invited to Malwa and reached Mandasore on Rabi II. 25, 1240/December 17, 1824.

In Mandasore too undesirable habits like the use of tobacco and intoxicants had spread among the Bohras against which the Syedna campaigned. But soon, he had a more formidable problem. Friction between the Bohras and other Muslims developed—provoked according to Bohra accounts by a Maulwi named Ramzan 'Ali. This person wantonly attacked and wounded a *momin* passing in front of a mosque and this led to a scuffle in which the Arabs appeared in the defence of the Bohras. In consequence, Maulwi Ramzan 'Ali paid for his temerity and was killed by a shot from an Arab's musket. This unforeseen development worsened the situation to the extent that an infuriated mob surrounded the house where the Syedna was staying. One of the shots even entered the room where the Syedna then was.

A number of people, both Bohras and others, were killed in the rioting which was quelled only when a white regiment from Neemuch, a nearby cantonment station, was requisitioned. Armed guards protected the Syedna and his residence while inflamed Muslim elements made life perilous for the Bohras; one of the Maulwis even issued a *fatwa*, allegedly legitimizing the assassination of these *rafizis*. Rioting flared up again on Jamad II. 29, 1240/February 18, 1825, necessitating the troops being called out. In this strife-torn town, Syedna Tayyab stayed till Rajab 13, 1240/March 3, 1825. On one occasion, an attempt was made to set fire to the building in which he was staying.

From Mandasore, he proceeded to Indore and then to Ujjain, reaching there

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on Shawwal 21/June 8, Ujjain was uncomfortably near Mandasore and another Maulwi, Mazhar 'Ali was publicly calling for vengeance for Ramzan 'Ali. The Syedna's arrival led to rioting and organized attacks on Bohra localities. The worsening situation could be brought under control only when the troops from Neemuch were called for and Maulwi Mazhar 'Ali arrested.

In the meanwhile trouble brewed in another quarter. On Safar 1, 1241/ September 15, 1825, during the Jain festival of *Paryushan* which enjoins fasting among other religious rituals, a Bohra invited the community to dinner. Since this period is held as unusually auspicious by the Jains and so being an influential community in a town within the Sindhia state of Gwalior, they had managed to secure a ban on animal slaughter. The Bohras considered a feast—and moreover a feast in which the Syedna was going to be present—completely impossible without meat and therefore arranged for slaughtering to be done privately.

Reports of this activity were carried to the officials while a mob attacked the house where the cooking was being done, causing loss and destruction. Fortunately for the Syedna and his people, the outcome of this episode was beneficial; while the local officials ruled against them, the higher Gwalior authorities not only made proper restitution but also guaranteed them the right to live in their own way.

For seven months after this episode, the Syedna stayed in Ujjain and then returned to Surat, visiting Rampur on the way, reaching there on Zil-hujja 11, 1241/July 17, 1826. Here he stayed for some time, arranging family matches. He married his daughter to Syedi Muhammad Badr-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abde-'ali Saif-u'd-din, later his successor. Two of his sons and a daughter were simultaneously married. It is said that in this function the Syedna set a standard of simplicity. With the advent of *Pax Britannica*, prosperity with all its attendant advantages had ushered in an era of ostentatious expenditure. At this time, the insistance of the Syedna on simplicity, the Bohra writers state, had a salutary effect on the community.

In the beginning of 1247/July 1831, the Syedna undertook a tour of central Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kacchh. He visited Nawanagar and from there went to Mandvi in Kacchh where the situation appeared tense. The Bohras were prepared to take him in a procession through the town though it was felt that serious trouble might follow. The Syedna wisely stayed outside the town, a moderation which was however set at nought, when later some Hindu religious leader arrived and was ostentatiously taken in. In the scuffle, this leader is reported to have been killed.

Returning to Surat on Jamada II, 14, 1249/November 13, 1833, the Syedna nominated his son-in-law, Syedi Muhammad Badr-u'd-din as his successor—a return to the Rajput dynasty. Probably, it was the fructification of the obligation consciously or unconsciously undertaken by the first two Aurangabadi incumbents who held the family of their Rajput predecessors in veneration and had been placed by them in the seat of power.

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In the last days of 1252/early in 1837, the Syedna fell sick and he passed away on Z'il-qada 15, 1252/January 23, 1837.

Syedna Badr-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abde-'ali Saif-u'd-din is the last of the Rajput *da'is*. He was seven when his father died and twenty-six when he succeeded to his office. He was only thirty when he died three years later.

Surat suffered from fire and floods, as his term opened—visitations which left their mark in the memory of the town. On Muharram 19, 1253/April 25, 1837, a dissastrous fire commenced and raged for two days, gutting the central portion of the city, including the *da'wat* buildings which housed a valuable library and other material. The Tapti rose to unprecedented heights the next year completing the gruesome tragedy.[55]

The Syedna, like other citizens took a worthy part in the relief activities. Later, he left Surat for Poona, stayed there for about a year and returned on Muharram 28, 1255/April 13, 1839. The same year he married two wives, and also performed the marriage of one of the sons of Syedna Tayyab. And then began the series of events which culminated in his death and left a legacy of uncertainty and dissension.

It appears that the Syedna had been suffering from piles but suddenly, the disease took a turn for the worse. Quite suddenly and unexpectedly, he passed away on Jamad II, 29, 1256/August 28, 1840. So sudden was this death that poisoning was widely suspected; Mulla Muhammadbhai, writing in the term of his successor when the question of his successor's *nas* was raging, writes that it was said that finely grounded diamond powder was a 'participant in the disease' which brought death so suddenly to the Syedna.[56]

The question which came immediately to the forefront and which plagued succeeding generations was: did the Syedna pronounce a clear and unmistakable *nas* in favour of his successor? Syedna 'Abd-u'l Qadir Najm-u'd-din bin Syedna Tayyab Zain-u'd-din was accepted by most of his followers as his legitimate successor. But there remained a strong doubt in the minds of many and a fairly numerous minority—which included the son of the Syedna Syedi 'Abd-u'l Hakim himself—did not believe that the validity of the nomination was above question.[57]

Syedna Muhammad Burhan-u'd-din was the last *da'i* of the Rajput line and it is the exhaustion of this dynasty that helped the Aurangabadi line in establish-

[55] Idem 130-1: The dates in both the books coincide.

[56] *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 717. Mulla Muhammad writes that Syedna Burhan-u'd-din's death was similar to that of the 33rd *da'i*, Syedna Pirkhan Shuja-u'd-din whose death also was strongly suspected to have taken place due to poisoning.

[57] This was the question discussed at length in law courts especially, in the Burhanpur Dargah Case. For details, see Judgement in the Burhanpur Dargah Case cited above; also for Privy Council Judgement, see, Indian Appeals, *Law Report*, 74-5 (1946-48): 1947, 1-18.

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ing itself. Much of the trouble of succession especially among the less learned appears to have been due to the traditional loyalty of the people to this line and their feeling that the newcomers did not have *quite* the same charisma.

Not only his son but his sons-in-law belonged to the faction which questioned Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Qadir Najm-u'd-din's right to his office. His accession was actually the work of four Shaikhs which certified his right;[58] though their influence was considerable and swayed the majority to keep their doubts, at least to themselves, and placed the Syedna in power, yet, the situation appears to have been such as to make the trial judge in the Burhanpur Case remark " that it was taken almost as an accepted fact among the prominent learned men of the time that Najmuddin Saheb had no *nas* and he was a *Da'i* for administrative purposes only ".[59]

While this dangerous knowledge could not be passed on to the laity which regretted the passing away of a celebrated line, it placed the conscientious *masha'ikh* for whom the *da'i's* position was a religious as well as a social necessity, in a dilemma of the soul. A search for alternatives was the result. A committee known as the *Hilf-u'l-Faza'il*, or a Committee of the Learned, came into being in 1293/1876 with the avowed purpose of functioning as a Grand Council which would supplant the office of the *da'i*. This experiment proved unsuccessful; it went up, as Mulla Muhammad writes, like gun-powder.[60]

The ' so-called ' *Imami* letters had also in the meanwhile with their mysterious content and threatening tone, indicated the presence of a dissident, possibly a violent faction. These were received as early as 1264/1847 and according to a report in the Burhanpur Case, confused and frightened Syedna 'Abd-u'l Qadir.[61] In 1293/1876, five prominent Shaikhs left for Arabia on a search for the *Imam;* in this effort, they toured the whole of Arabia though Turkish authorities suspected them of being spies and they were released only with difficulty.

Finally, the doubt and uncertainty in the minds of the ' priestly class ', as the judge put it, resulted in the enunciation of the doctrine of *Inqita'-i-nas*, according to which there could be an end of the link with the Imam and the termination of the line of *da'is* which had the divine sanction behind them. The status of subsequent ones was that of *nazim* or managers only, without any suggestion of spiritual preeminence.[62]

During his long term of nearly forty-five years Syedna 'Abd-u'l Qadir Najm-u'd-din managed to survive all the onslaughts on his position—but at a

[58] Judgement, op. cit. 30. *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 353.
[59] Judgement, op. cit. 33. [60] *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 749.
[61] Judgement, op. cit. 28-30. *Mosam-i-Bahar* III, 749. *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 357.
[62] Judgement, op. cit. 40-2. Abdul Husain, op. cit. 40-2. The present Syedna has refuted this doctrine in his book *Zu'-i-Nur-u'l-haq-u'l Mubin* (99-103) cited above.

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price. The jealously preserved status of Shaikh, which had formerly been bestowed on those who had been qualified by learning and piety, was depressed by admitting unworthy incumbents so that the " title of the Shaikh lost its original value among the learned ".[63] Even the foundations of knowledge were undermined it appears as it began to be felt that the attitude of the Shaikhs was uncertain: the academy in Surat which had been a vantage position of scholars suspicious of the Syedna's claims[64] by virtue of their theological training, was pruned by its funds being reduced.[65]

Even then, his position suffered. Areas were farmed out to the family members where they collected the dues and retained them thus seriously affecting the central finances. Ostentatious spending in the numerous marriages, together with other expenses, coupled with dwindling income forced the Syedna into the hands of money-lenders. These debts accumulated to an extent which the Syedna was not able to meet in his life-time, nor could his successor get rid of them. At one time later, one of his son's followers, a Shaikh, obtained a decree against him and faced him with the threat of imprisonment by securing a warrant for arrest![66]

In brief, the position of the *da'i*, a crucial one in the Bohra social system, declined seriously in the age of the 47th *da'i*, Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Qadir Najm-u'd-din. Nowhere is this dismal picture more graphically portrayed than in the brief passages in which Mulla Muhammad 'Ali bewails these troubled days in which he lived, when as he writes, disaffection was rife in many a quarters and even those who should have known better were speaking against the head, thus adding to the confusion.[67]

Among the pleasanter aspects of Syedna's 'Abd-u'l-Qadir's activity were his efforts to organize and improve the Bohras of Karachi. He was the first head of the Bohra community to be invested with the title of a first class *Sardar* of the Bombay Presidency. The honour had been offered to the 44th and 45th *da'i* earlier but had been declined by them.

After a long tenure of nearly forty-five years, Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Qadir passed away on Rajab 26, 1302/May 11, 1885. With him a stormy and eventful age commenced; the stabilization came only with the present *da'i*, Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din.

Financial difficulties which had commenced in his predecessor's term continued during the time of Syedna 'Abd-u'l Husain Husam-u'd-din bin Syedna Tayyab Zain-u'd-din. The *dai's* weakened position was also responsible for it; it appears that different areas had been divided between the sons of Syedna

[63] Abdul Husain, op. cit. 51. [64] Judgement, op. cit. 32-3.
[65] *Mesam-i-Bahar* III, 738-9. *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 362-3. Judgement, op. cit, 32-3.
[66] Infra 50. Judgement, op. cit. 34.
[67] *Mesam-i-Bahar* III, 519-20 and 738-9. With him, this valuable history comes to an end

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'Abd-u'l Qadir with the right of collection, a right which had been given to them in their father's time and which they were not willing to surrender.

In fact, the degree of independence enjoyed by them appears surprising. Syedi Burhan-u'd-din, later to succeed his uncle, was the *Amil* at Bombay, by now one of the most fruitful areas of the *da'wat*. In 1303/1886, Syedna 'Abd-u'l Husain visited Bombay and appealed to his nephew for help in relieving the *da'i* and the *da'wat* of pressing debts. Syedi Burhan-u'd-din failed to respond, and much disheartened, the Syedna proceeded to Poona.[68]

Syedna 'Abd-u'l Husain preferred Ahmedabad to Surat and spent much of his time there. He toured Saurashtra twice and also visited Malwa and Khandesh. He is one of the few *da'is* who spent some time in Baroda, the seat of the dissident Sulaimani and 'Alia sects when he stayed there for a few days in 1308/1891.

Two notable things were done by him. In the first place, he persuaded the residents of different places to build guest houses to accommodate visitors —and incidentally to serve as a nucleus of communal activities. In many pilgrimage centres also rest houses were built at his instance thus faciliating visitors. Secondly, he campaigned against common superstitions of ghosts, vampires and the like which were widely believed by his followers.

Syedna 'Abd-u'l Husain's tenure was not long. He died in Ahmedabad on Zi'l-hujja 27, 1308/August 3, 1891. He was succeeded by his nephew Syedi Burhan-u'd-din of Bombay though his former disappointment must have rankled in the Syedna's mind.

Syedna Muhammad Burhan-u'd-din made a start by attempting to conciliate the people who had been doubtful of his father's *nas*. He invited Syedi 'Abd-u'l-lah Hakim-u'd-din, his younger brother to join him though, as has been noted above, he had been among the dissidents. Syedi 'Abd-u'l-lah at first declined but later he allowed himself to be persuaded and joined the Syedna.[69] During the Burhanpur Case, " the plaintiff field photo copies of a declaration alleged to have been made by the Syedna to his brother that he was not a *Da'i-u'l-mutluq* in the religious sense but only a *Da'i* for carrying out the administration of the Dawat ".[70]

Financial difficulties which had troubled his uncle continued during Syedna Muhammad's time. One of his creditors, a Shaikh, as has been mentioned before threatened arrest. In this predicament, the Syedna is said to have declared that the property which apparently seemed to be his, was in reality that of the *da'wat*—a statement which was quoted later in the Chandbhai Ghalla Case.

It was probably to redress the affairs of the *da'wat* and control the excessive

[68] *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 368.
[69] Judgement, op. cit. 30. *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 371.
[70] Judgement, op. cit. 34-7.

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independence of local functionaries that the Syedna formulated a *Dastur-u'l-amal* which was promulgated at a conference held at the instance of the noted Dau'di industrialist Sir Adamji Pirbhai at his native place Dhoraji, on Shawwal 26, 1216/March 9, 1899. In this *dastur-u'l-amal* numerous obsolete customs were sought to be removed and the procedures of marriage and the rituals rationalized. It was also laid down that it was necessary for the *Amil* to remit his collections to the centre and if his area was visited by the Syedna, half the expenses were to be defrayed by the *jama't*. *Amils* were also authorized to accord permission to their subordinate Mullahs to carry out marriages and other ceremonies.

Syedna Muhammad Burhan-u'd-din was the first Indian *da'i* after Syedna Yusuf bin Sulaiman to leave the shores of India when he proceeded on *haj*. During this period, he left Syedi Isma'ilji Badr-u'd-din his uncle in charge of the *da'wat* and probably intended to nominate him as his successor.

On his return, however, when he fell sick, he decided in favour of his cousin, Syedi 'Abde-'ali Mohi-u'd-din bin Syedna Husam-u'd-din; but he declined and suggested that his younger brother 'Abd-u'l-lah Badr-u'd-din was better able to bear the burden. On this, the Syedna nominated him as his successor before passing away on Zil-hujja 27, 1323/February 22, 1906.

During the period of Syedna Muhammad Burhan-u'd-din, another Bohra sect came into existence—the Mahdibagh sect—which has its headquarters and almost total settlement in Nagpur. The founder of this sect was an extraordinarily bright young man named 'Abd-u'l Husain bin Jiwaji. 'Abd-u'l-Husain belonged to Kapadwanj but had been a shopkeeper in Bombay till he went to Nagpur. Here in 1897, he claimed that he was in direct communication with the *Imam* and had been appointed his *Hujjat* or proof, namely a higher status than that of the *da'i-u'l-mutlaq*.

The intellectual attainments of Maulana 'Abd-u'l Husain or Malik Saheb as he was popularly known together with the circumstances of the *da'wat*, led to a number of learned men, *masha'ikhs*, joining him and the formation of the group which came to be known by its residential locale in Nagpur. The efforts of Shaikh Ahmad 'Ali Hamid-u'd-din, the *Amil* at Nagpur, led to the return of a few people. Nearly a hundred families mainly resident in Mahdibagh and largely marrying within themselves however, formed the nucleus of the new sect.[71]

The Mahdibagh group have an era for themselves which begins on the first of Ramzan and commences in the year the light is said to have first dawned on Maulana Malik Sahib, the period of *zuhur*. Called the 'Abidi era, the present year is its seventy-fifth. The founder, held the reins of the sect from the first year 1308/1890 to 1321/1903, though he made the public declaration in 1897. He was succeeded by Khan Bahadur Maulana H. M. Malik in 1903

[71] Judgement, op. cit. 37-8. Abdul Husain, op. cit. 49-50. *Da'wat-u'l-Akarmin*, 378.

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and was the head till 1922. From 1922 to 1956, Maulana Ibrahim Raza Saheb was the head and in that year he was succeeded by Maulana Hasan Nurani Sahib who is the present head.

The Mahdibagh sect as will be noted, is a small and a compact one and its people have the customs and manners of other Bohras except that they do not inter-marry and generally do not have much contact with them. Its headship is not hereditary; its founder disclaimed that his mission was to form a line and picked his successor, it is said, almost by instant recognition when a chance visit took him to a shop where he was a *gumashta*, or clerk-attendant.[72]

Syedna 'Abd-u'l-lah's term was a short one of seven years. With him commenced an effort to reform the run-down condition of the *da'wat* administration. The independence of the *Amils* was curtailed and an attempt was made to redress the abuses with which local administration of the *jama't* was rife. Even more significant, was the end of flagrant distribution of titles and offices which had been characteristic of the *da'wat* in the past. Syedna Badr-u'd-din is said to have disregarded every qualification but knowledge and learning in the appointments he made to high office, especially to those around himself.

Simultaneously an attempt was made to improve the quality of these incumbents by improving the condition of the madrasa at Surat. He also undertook wide tours among his far-flung followers and toured widely in Western and Central India.

Syedna Badr-u'd-din was honoured by the British Government by the grant of a first class *Sardar* in the Presidency of Bombay. About the same time, trouble between the Bohras and other Muslims flared up which led to widespread rioting and destruction of Bohra shops culminating in the flight of many Bohras from Bhopal. The decision of this dispute took place not in Syedna's time but in that of his successor and Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din's attitude appears to have made him unpopular among the Bohras of Bhopal.[73]

Originally it appears that the Syedna wished to nominate his elder nephew, Syedi Tayyab Zain-u'd-din but he is said to have conveyed to his uncle that his nature resembled that of Syedi 'Abde-'ali Mohi-u'd-din who had declined the office in his favour. Upon this, the Syedna nominated his second nephew, Syedi Tahir Saif-u'd-din to this office. The abstention was almost prophetic; soon after Syedi Tayyab passed away. This shock followed by the Bhopal trouble intensified the heart trouble with which the Syedna was suffering and he passed away on Rabi II, 10, 1333/January 26, 1915.

With the death of the 50th *da'i*, this account of the history of the Da'udi

[72] From personal interview with a member of this sect.

[73] Najm-u'd-din Ghani, *Mazahib-i-Islam*, 317-21.

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Bohras may be brought to an end for the eventful half-century which has been passed under the aegis of his successor, the present *da'i*, 51st in the order, Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din, requires an independent chapter. Traditional challenges to his authority remain and are expressed in law suits; but equally significant is the movement which while preferring to remain within the fold, seeks to democratize the administrative structure. Simultaneously, there is an attempt to regulate and modernize the affairs of the *da'wat* and adapt it to a fast-changing situation within the limits imposed by a theory which is said to give the *da'i* powers which are not amenable or answerable to human agencies.

Bohra history has yet to be written and it can be written satisfactorily only when the required libraries are catalogued and open. Even then it may prove to be a task which may leave a historian unsatisfied. The material is mainly one-sided and thereby leaves the problem stated but not answered; except the Sulaimanis, none of the dissident sects appear to have any sizable literature and much disappeared completely. Nevertheless, a clear exposition of this material would not only add a new dimension to regional or communal history but would add to our knowledge of the history of India as a whole.

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CHAPTER 3

THE NIZARI MISSIONARIES AND THEIR FOLLOWERS IN GUJARAT

THE SPLIT between the Nizari (Eastern i.e. the Khojah) and the Musta'li (Western i.e. the Bohra) groups took place at the end of the reign of the eighth Fatimid Khalifa, al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah (427/1035-487/1094). In 483/1091-2, al-Alamut was captured by Hasan bin Sabbah and thereupon the Nizari line was established. This stronghold was destroyed by the Mongols in 654/1256.

During and after the establishment of this centre, Nizari missionaries came into Sind and Gujarat and laid the foundations of the Nizari and allied communities in India. In Gujarat, they made a notable contribution; a brief analysis of their history is therefore made in the following pages.

It may be noted that original sources for this study are virtually non-existent or have not yet come to light. What are available, are *Shajras* (genealogies), traditions and the brief and tantalizing data vouchsafed by the *Gnans*, ascribed to the *pirs*. It is therefore difficult to be certain especially regarding dates; and the plentifulness of miracles ascribed to the *pirs* strains the credence of the scientific student.

The line of Nizari *da'is* who came to Gujarat starts with Nur Satgur, the first to arrive in this land. As noticed earlier, he is said to have come into Gujarat in the reign of Siddharaj Jayasingha (1094-1143). As such, he would have closely followed the foundation of Nizari power in al-Alamut.

Nur Satgur is also reported to be a forbear of the line of what in Satpanthi literature are regarded as *pirs* and in Khojah literature as *da'is* which led to the propagation of this faith. This genealogy is difficult to ascertain for a number of varying versions are given. The most prominent are as under.

As given by the *Mirati-i-Ahmadi:* (1) Isma'il, (2) Syed Nur-u'd-din Muhammad, (3) Isma'il II, (4) Syed Mansur, (5) Syed Ghalib, (6) Syed 'Abd-u'l Majid, (7) Syed Jamal Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (8) Syed Ahmad Hadi, (9) Syed Hashim, (10) Syed Muhammad, (11) Syed Mahmud, (12) Syed Muhib-u'd-din, (13) Syed Khalid, (14) Syed 'Abd-u'l Momin, (15) Syed Islam-u'd-din, (16) Syed Salah-u'd-din Salib, and (17) Syed Shams-u'd-din.[1]

The official Khojah history of Imams as given in the *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, on the basis of the *Gulzar-i-Shams:* (1) Isma'il, (2) Nur-u'd-din Mahmud, (3) Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (4) Isma'il II, (5) Muhammad Mansur, (6) Ghalib-din, (7) Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (8) Ahmad Hadi, (9) Hashim Shah, (10) Muhammad Shah, (11) Mahmud Shah, (12) Muhib-din, (13) Khalid-din, (14) 'Abd-u'l-Momin, (15) Islam-u'd-

[1] (Mirat-i-Ahmadi) *Khatimah*, 123.

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din, (16) Salih-din, (17) Salah-din, and (18) Shams-u'd-din.[2]

As given in the *Tawarikh-i-Pir* by Pirzada Syed Sadr-u'd-din H. Dargahwala of the *Dargah* of Nur Satgur in Navasari, most probaby on the basis of nineteenth century Persian work, *Manazil-u'l-aqtab:* (1) Isma'il, (2) Syed Nur-u'd-din Muhammad or Nur Satgur, (3) Syed Isma'il Raza, (4) Syed Mansur Muhammad, (5) Syed Ghalib, (6) Syed 'Abd-u'l Majid, (7) Syed Mustafa, (8) Syed Ahmad Hadi, (9) Syed Hashim, (10) Syed Muhammad, (11) Syed Mahmud, (12) Syed Khalid, (13) Syed Momin, (14) Syed Islam-u'd-din, (15) Syed Salah-u'd-din, and (16) Syed Shams-u'd-din.[3]

In *Khojah Vrattant*, the author traces this line under the heading ' Genealogy of Pirs ', as distinct from the line of Shahs, under which the line of Imams has been traced. (1) Pir Nabi Muhammad Mustafa, (2) Pir Imam Husain, (3) Pir Kasim Shah, (4) Pir Ahmad Ali, (5) Pir Satgur Nur, (6) Pir Imam-u'd-din, (7) Pir Muhammad Mansur, (8) Pir Ghalib-din, (9) 'Abd-u'l Aziz, (10) Pir Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (11) Pir Ahmad Hadi, (12) Pir Kasim Shah, (13) Pir Muhammad, (14) Pir Mahmud, (15) Pir Muhib-din, (16) Pir Khaliq din, (17) Pir 'Abd-u'l Momin, (18) Pir Islam din, (19) Pir Salla-u'd-din, and (20) Pir Shams-u'd-din.[4]

As given in *The Life of Pir Masha'ikh Chishti:* (1) Isma'il, (2) Nur Muhammad, (3) Isma'il II, (4) Muhammad Mansur, (5) Ghalib-u'd-din, (6) 'Abd-u'l Majid, (7) Mustafa, (8) Ahmad Hadi, (9) Hashim, (10) Khalid, (11) Momin Shah, (12) Islam-u'd-din, (13) Salih-u'd-din, and (14) Shams-u'l-Haq.[5]

According to Isma'ili sources, Isma'il's concealment began in 145/762-3 and his death took place seven years later. For Pir Shams, the following dates are given: Birth, Sha'ban 15, 560/June 27, 1165; in Sind, 665/1266-7; death, Ramzan 21, 675/February 26, 1277. (*Tawarikh-i-Pir*). In *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, only the year of his death is given as 757/1356; in the *Shajara* found by Ivanow, the dates were: birth, Rajab 17, 560/May 30, 1165; in Multan, 598/1201: death 675/1276.[6]

It is evident that the value of these genealogies for historical research is not very great. Firstly, no early Arab source indicates that Isma'il had another son, Nur-u'd-din Muhammad, other than his successor Muhammad. Further,

[2] Chunara, Ali Muhammad Wazir Muhammad, *Noor-u'm-Mobin*, (4th Edition, Isma'ili Society for India, Bombay, 1961), 311.

[3] Pirzada, Syed Sadr-u'd-din *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, Vol. II. (Muslim Gujarat Press, Navasari, 1935, 23-4. The author also gives the other version on pages 265-72. This latter version is reproduced in popular Satpanthi literature like the *Dashtari al-Gayatri*, with minor variations (Pirana pamphlet *Satpanthi Agna-patra*, 60-1).

[4] Nanjiani, Sachedina *Khojah Vrattant* (Samsher Bahahur Press, Ahmedabad, 1892), 258-62.

[5] Ibrahim, Pir Muhammad *Masha'ikh Chishti-nu-Jiwan-Charitra* (Author, 348, Bapat Road, Bombay-8, 1372/1953), 100.

[6] Ivanow, W. " Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat, " *JBBRAS*, XII (1936), p. 32: Chunara, op. cit. 318.

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if this son is identified as Nur Satgur then he hardly could have been a Nizari *da'i* or have come in the reign of Siddharaj Jayasingha, about three centuries later. Neither is it clear how Mustansir-bi'l-lah comes to be included in this list; the list in *Nur-u'm-Mobin* mentions two such personages rather than one. In *Khojah Vrattant* the reference appears to be not to parentage but to initiation; later this line merges into that of the *Imams*.

Other versions of the genealogy are also available but are of no greater veracity. In one, Pir Shams is made out to be the same person as Shams-u'd-din Muhammad Shah, the Isma'ili Imam, the son of the last Alamut Imam; in another, he is said to have been descended from Musa-Kazim, the seventh Isna' ashari Imam.[7]

From Pir Shams onwards the line is fairly clear though the dates are not. It is as under:

(1 Syed Shams-u'd-din, (2) Syed Nasir-u'd-din, (3) Syed Shahab-u'd-din, (4) Syed Sadr-u'd-din Mahmud, (5) Syed Hasan Kabir-u'd-din, and (6) Syed Imam-u'd-din.[8] From him springs the Imamshahi line of Syeds, with their headquarters at Pirana.

From Hasan Kabir-u'd-din also begins the line of *pirs*, which in the eighteenth century produced Pir Mashaikh, the Pir of the Momnas of north Gujarat.

(1) Syed Hasan Kabir-u'd-din, (2) Syed Rahmat-u'l-lah, (3) Syed Mashaikh the Elder, (4) Syed 'Abu'l Hasan, (5) Syed Zain-Nu'd-din, (6) Syed Sadr-u'd-din, (7) Syed Muhammad Fazil Shah, and (8) Syed (Pir) Mashaikh.[9]

According to a Satpanthi text quoted in *Pirana Panth*, Nur Satgur is reported to have come to Gujarat on Chaitra 6, 883 vs/April 1,826/Zi'l-hujja 18, 210.[10] In *Nur-u'm-Mobin* it is stated that he was sent by al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah himself in 462/1069-70[11] to work for Nizar in India. We have already seen the highly improbable story of his being a son of Isma'il, a fact which has been doubted but is accepted uncritically by the Satpanthis.[12]

It is difficult to understand why Khalifa al-Mustansir should have sent Nur Satgur to propagate for a partisan schism which was not in existence then and which, it would be reasonable to expect him to crush, if he had the power to do so. Rather, this appears to be an explanation for Nur Satgur's arrival in Gujarat much before the rise of the Nizari sect itself. What appears to be more likely is that he came later from al-Alamut, probably soon after

[7] Ivanow, op. cit. 32. [8] This is common to all works cited above.
[9] Ibrahim, op. cit. 100.
[10] *Pirana Satpanth-ni Pol* (Very rare, author Limbani, Narayanji Ramjibhai and publisher not known) p. 117, quoting a Ms. *Hazrat Hasan Husain-nu Kursinamo*.
[11] Chunara, op. cit. 207-8.
[12] Pirzada, op. cit. 38. This is accepted as truth in all Satpanthi literature.

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the foundation of Nizari power there.

Moreover, had he arrived then, he would have had no contact with Siddharaj Jayasingha for he came to the throne in 1094, a year *after* the foundation of al-Alamut. Even this fact seems to be unfounded; no less than *three* Muslim missionaries claim to have converted the most famous ruler of Rajput Gujarat to their own form of Islam. But according to all available accounts, Siddharaj died a devout Saiva.

In view of these facts, Nur Satgur's figure is one which is more legendary than real, at least in determinable historical terms. No doubt, some time in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., an Isma'ili *pir* arrived to sow the seeds of Nizari Isma'ilism in Gujarat and was buried in Navasari. More than that is legend rather than history.

In *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, the year of his death is given as 487/1094, the year in which Siddharaj came to the throne.[13]

Pir Shams, in Khojah and Satpanthi literature has been confounded both with Shams Tabrizi and Imam Shams-u'd-din. Born in Sabzwar (Isfiziar), a town south of Herat,[14] he is stated to have had a life span of 115 years; another version provides him with an unbearably long life of nearly two centuries. He is said to have been active in Sind and Kashmir where his followers are; his mausoleum is at Multan.

The life of Pir Shams is known only by the numerous *mua'zes* or miracles said to have been performed by him. He is reported to have crossed a river in a paper boat along with his disciples and made horns grow on the head of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din who looked upon this performance and its author with envy. He brought a dead boy back to life by his order when he failed to get up on invoking God's name; and when this was interpreted as blasphemy, and he was sentenced to be skinned alive, he himself stripped off his skin, by his *chowt*, hair knot and handed it over. He also brought the *Shams*, the Sun, down to cook for him a piece of meat.[15]

Nearly the whole of it is legend, fiction rather than fact. Almost nothing is known of the actual life of Pir Shams except for the fact that he lived between the second half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth. He is said to have gone to Kashmir and Tibet on proselytizing missions; and a number of *ginbas* ascribed to him are a part of Satpanthi literature.

Pir Sadr-u'd-din is the founder of the Khojah community in India. He started his work in Sind and is said to have made a deep study of Hindu religious texts for his purpose. He visited Iran and met the Imam Islam Shah near Isfhan; from him he obtained the permission to appoint *Mukhis* and *Kamadias*,

[13] Chunara, op. cit. 38. [14] Ivanow, op. cit. 31-2.
[15] Chunara, op. cit. 311-18. Pirzada, op. cit. 75-83.

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He established the first *jam'atkhana* at Kotdi. Evidently, by his time the followers had become sufficient in number to require an independent organization and establishment of their own.

It is difficult to be certain on this point but it appears that with him also started the shift which was to adapt Islam to the needs of the proselytizing missionaries and the proselytized community. In Gujarat, the new faith was accepted by the Lohanas; to convince them, he gave to his faith, the designation of Satpanth or the true way. For himself, he took Hindu names of Sahdeva *and* Harichand; all his three names are often repeated in the Satpanthi *gnans*.

Pir Sadr-u'd-din died in a village called Ucchh Sharif in Bahawalpore. Dates regarding his life are very uncertain; in *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, his date of birth is given as Rabi I, 2, 650/May 13, 1252 and the date of death as Rajab 12, 770/February 20, 1369.[16] In *Nur-u'm-Mobin* Rabi I, 2, 700/November 15, 1300 is given as his date of birth while that of his death is given as Rajab 12, 819/September 5, 1416.[17] In the *Shajara* consulted by Ivanow, these dates are: 689/1290 and 782/1380.[18]

Pir Sadr-u'd-din is the *second* great *pir* of this order in Gujarat; his son, Hasan Kabir-u'd-din, is the third one. He is said to have met the *Imam* early in life and earned his favour by presenting his headgear to him. His field of activities was mainly Sind and he died in Ucchh.

The *Nur-u'm-Mobin* gives the year of his birth as Sha'ban 22, 742/Jan. 21, 1342 and of his death as Safar 853/April 1449.[19] In *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, only the year of his death is given on the basis of a *gnan* in the Vikram year as Kartik 17 (badi 2), 1550/Muharram 15, 899/October 26, 1493.[20]

Hasan Kabir-u'd-din had eighteen sons, of which his youngest son Imam Shah became the most famous in Gujarat. He was the founder of the Imam Shahi sect which was accepted by a number of the agrarian and pastoral communities in Gujarat, Khandesh and western Madhya Pradesh. His mausoleum in Pirana, ten miles from Ahmedabad continues to be place of reverence for a large number of Satpanthi followers. His life or what we know of it, may therefore be sketched in more detail.

In *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, his date of birth is given as Rabi II, 27, 856/May 17, 1452/ Vaisakha badi 13, 1509. He is said to have arrived in Gujarat in Bhadarwa Sudi 11, 1508/Sha'ban 1, 655/September 6, 1451. He initiated Punja Singh of Bhavanagar into the Satpanthi way in 878/1530-31, another disciple Naya Kaka on Kartik Vadi 1, 1510/Shawwal 14, 857/October 18, 1453. In 1512/ 859-60/1455-56, he married Bibi Khadija, the daughter of Syed Muhammad Bukhari of the Bukhari Syeds of Batwa. In 1524/871-2/1466-67, his seat was established at Pirana. He is said to have died on Ramzan 26, 919/Novem-

[16] Pirzada, op. cit. 83-99.
[17] Chunara, op. cit. 321-5.
[18] Ivanow, op. cit. 34.
[19] Chunara, op. cit. 325.
[20] Pirzada, op. cit. 99-101.

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ber 25, 1513/Kartik badi 10, 1570.[21]

At the time of his father's death, he is also said to have been nineteen (lunar) years of age. By this calculation, his birth should have taken place in either 834/1430-31 or 880/1475-76.

On the basis of the *Manazil-u'l-aqtab*, Ivanow gives the following dates: birth, Rabi I, 27, 856/April 17, 1452 or Jamada II, 11, 856/June 29, 1452. He went to Kirman, returned to India and came to Gujarat in 875/1470-71. He died in Pirana on Ramzan 27, 919/November 11, 1513.[22]

Legends firmly connect the name of Imam Shah with the greatest of the Sultans of Gujarat, Mahmud Begda (863/1458-917/1511). After receiving his 'share' from the bier of his father, a rosary and a piece of sugar, and being instructed to go to the mausoleum of Ja'far as-Sadiq, if he wished for more, he proceeded to Kirman and was received by the Imam Muhammad bin Islam Shah. In the *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, it is said, he failed to receive the *piranata* authorization which had already been granted to his uncle Pir Taj-u'd-din;[23] according to *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, he was told that he did not need it but was anyhow invested with both *batini* and *zahiri* knowledge.[24] He then visited the tomb of Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq and returned to Sind. Here his claims were denied by the Khojahs and in Lun they failed to serve him; after three days of fasting, he was entertained by a Khoja called Premji.

From here he started for Gujarat, accompanied by his attendant Hazir Beg, whose tomb now lies in front of his mausoleum. From here also begins a long list of miracles. At Atuda, he was asked why he did not pray and replied by making the minaret of the mosque bend in prayer for him. Being apprised of this Mahmud Begda called him and tested him by serving him with cat's meat; on Imam Shah's call, it jumped alive out of his plate and ran away. He then told Mahmud Shah, " Now thou art lost (Begda) ". It is from this that the Sultan got this epithet. He forgave the Sultan and accepted nothing except a bullock cart. On arrival on the banks of the Sabarmati river and on the refusal of the boatman to carry him across, he made the waters bifurcate, making way for him to go across.

He then arrived at Giramtha; here there was no rain for two years but on his *du'a* (prayers), rain-filled clouds were sighted and rains started; even grass sprouted from the ground to supply fodder to starved cattle. He then shot an arrow which fell at the place where his mausoleum now stands; a tiger and its mate had been guarding it but they respectfully saluted the *pir* and left the place. From that time, it came to be known as Pir-ana (coming of the *pir*).

[21] Pirzada op. cit. 103-8. The use of *Hijri* and *Samvat* calendars, as will be noticed, is inconsistent.

[22] Ivanow, op. cit. 39-42. [23] Chunara, op. cit. 334-5.

[24] Syed, Kasimali Durweshali *Satpanth Shastra* (Patel Taljibhai Nanjibhai Gorkhampa, Gujarat, 1945), 25-35. Pirzada, op. cit. 103-7. Nanjiani, op. cit. 215-26.

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Marriage of Muhmmad Begda's daughter with Nur Muhammad Shah

By now the *pir* had attracted crowds of followers. A large concourse of Hindus, going to Kashi on pilgrimage chanced to camp at Giramtha. Imam Shah offered them to get it done there itself and the people agreed to accept him as *pir* if he saved them the trouble of undertaking the long journey. They remained that night at Pirana and the next morning they found themselves in Kashi. Here they made the usual rounds and completed the rites and ceremonies required of pilgrims; and when they woke up the next morning, they were in Pirana.

This was Imam Shah's greatest achievement; the *janoi's*, sacred threads discarded on this occasion by his newly enrolled disciples weighed one and a quarter maunds !

Subsequently, Mahmud Begda married his daughter to Imam Shah's eldest son, Nur Muhammad. He then got his mausoleum built. During the period of construction, he used to sit in a small room opposite the rising building. A few of the labourers thought that under his seat, Bawa Imam Shah must have a hoard of money. They dug it up in vain and filled up the hole. Next evening they were paid double wages and they joined the Satpanthi faith.

At the time when the *dargah* was nearing completion, Imam Shah had five servitors; Hazar Beg, Bhabha Ram, Naya Kaka, Shana Kaka and Chichi bai. To the first he said, that he would die with his master and lie at twenty steps from him; and the followers would first offer flowers to him and then to Imam Shah; and that his tomb would always remain cool. Bhabha Ram was instructed to stay in a village in Petlad *pargana* and Naya Kaka in Kanam. Shana Kaka alone was asked to continue in Pirana.

Imam Shah laid the foundation of that syncretic sect, the Imam Shahi, which had a considerable influence on the agrarian communities of Gujarat, including the rise of a new Hindu community, the Matia Kanbis. Here we may complete the biographical notices of the subsequent *pirs* of this order.

Imam Shah had four sons and a daughter, all of whom except Nur Muhammad Shah or as he is called in the Satpanthi texts, Nar Muhammad Shah, died in his lifetime. He was married to the daughter of Mahmud Shah Begda; he had two sons by this marriage, Syed Mustafa and Syed Shahab-u'd-din; their progeny is known by the name of Imamshahi Syeds and have inherited the Pirana establishment. He had another son by his marriage with the daughter of Punjansinha, a Rajput of Bhavanagar; he was named Syed Khan and his progeny, known as Syed Khani, are in Burhanpur, Navasari and Ahmedabad. They have no share in the property and disciples of Pirana since Syed Khan founded an independent line from his headquarters at Navasari.[25]

Imam Shah is reported to have said in his approximations to make his faith appear as the original Hindu form, that Nur Satgur was Brahma and he

[25] Pirzada, op. cit. 126-31.

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himself the incarnation of Indra, and his son Nar Muhammad Shah was the *avatar* of Vishnu, the foremost deity of the Hindu pantheon, especially for the Vaishnavas. This served a double purpose; among the poorer classes which accepted the Satpanthi faith, a half-way-house between Islam and Hinduism, Nar Muhammad Shah was exalted to a station equivalent to the revered Hindu figures like Ram and Krishna, who themselves had been similar incarnations; and by implication, it rendered this line independent of their allegiance to the Isma'ili Imam for it placed the highest station attainable, vis-a-vis the newly enrolled, followers, in the line of Imam Shah himself.

It is doubtful if the despatch of the *dasondh* to the head of the Isma'ili mission in India was continued by Imam Shah. From the account given in the *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, it appears that Imam Shah was not given the authorization, the *piranata*, for which he had gone to the Imam.[26] The implication therefore is that he started on his mission on his own. As such, he could have hardly continued the traditional practice; and besides, the approximation of Hindu divinities to himself and his line without reference to the Imam suggests a degree of independence which is certainly not in keeping with the status of an agent.

Moreover, in the teachings of Imam Shah, especially in the *Dashtari Gayatri* and elsewhere where genealogical details are mentioned, no mention is made of the line of Imams. In the account of the last *avatar*, of ' Shri Murtuza Ali ', the descent is traced directly to ' Syed Sadgaur Patra Brahma Indra Imamshah ' and ' Adivishnu Niranjan Narali Mahmmadshah '.[27]

In addition, it is to be noted in these genealogies that the word *Imam* is used only up to Imam Nur Satgur bin Imam Isma'il. After that the word Syed is used. By implication therefore subsequent *Imams* are not recognized; and it could not be so since the line proceeds in the direction of the Imamshahi Syeds *without* referring either to the Fatimid, Musta'li or Nizari Imams.[28]

In the *Manazil-u'l-aqtab*, Nar Muhammad Shah is said to be responsible for separating his followers from the main Isma'ili stock. He is also regarded as the last *Imam* of the Satpanthis.[29] His main work is the *Satveni* a collection of poems mainly of moral and instructive nature, many of them of considerable poetic worth.[30]

In the *Manazil*, 940/1533-4 is given as the year of his death; in the *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, it is given as Rajab 21, 940/February 5, 1534.[31]

From the *Shajara* in the possession of Shri Kasim Ali of Pirana, it appears

[25] Chunara, op. cit. 334.

[26] Syed, op. cit. 51; *Chetamni of Imam Shah* (Ed. Syed Shamsuddin Bawasaheb, Satpanthi Mukhi Kanjibhai Ratnabhai, Ahmedabad, 2012/1956), 136-44.

[27] Vide Notes 1 to 3 above. [28] Ivanow, op. cit. 43-5.

[29] Published as *Moti Satya Veni* in Pirana literature (publisher as of *Chetamani*).

[30] Ivanow, op. cit. 43, 45. Pirzada, op. cit. 121-6.

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that Jalal-u'd-din succeeded Nar Muhammad Shah in Pirana; this seems to have been an occasion for mutual dissensions. Sa'id Khan however appears to have been the most prominent of the Syeds; but due to the machinations of the Syeds he had to stay mostly outside Pirana; his proselytizing mission is said to have had a tremendous effect.

By this time, the system of Kakas had taken root in Pirana and the dissensions had multiplied. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the *sajjadnashin* at Pirana was called by Aurangzeb as the news of his heretical practices reached him. Shahji Miran, was unwilling to go but the express summons of the Emperor left little option. He proceeded to Ahmedabad but there suddenly expired before he could proceed further. Probably, he poisoned himself or he died of shock. The tragic death of the Syed resulted in the rebellion of his Hindu followers, which is described in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* as the *fisada-i-mati'ya*.[32]

The subsequent history of the Syeds is of little interest except for illustrating the peculiar system of administration evolved to administer the properties and *dasondh* which came to Pirana. Almost every Syed is credited with great success in his missionary activities; and several centres, especially in Navasari, and Bahadurpur near Burhanpur, were established by the effort of these Syeds.

Another branch of the Isma'ili Syeds, which produced a *pir* remarkable for his influence on the agricultural Muslim communities of north Gujarat, sprang from Imam Shah's nephew, the son of his brother Rahmat-u'l-lah Shah.

According to the Satpanthi legends, Bibi Khadijah, the wife of Imam Shah, sent Mukhi Kheta to Lahore to call the nephew of her husband, Pir Mashai'kh bin Pir Rahmat-u'l-lah Shah. Pir Masha'ikh arrived in Gujarat with his son Pir 'Ab-u'l Hasan and Bibi Khadijah gave him a daughter from her family. As a part of the dowry, she gave him 'eighteen thousand *pagdis*', led by Mukhi Kheta. The *jama't* accepted Pir Masha'ikh as their *pir* but soon after he left Gujarat for his ancestral home, Lahore. He is said to have been poisoned on the way and his mausoleum is in Delhi.[33]

It seems that differences arose early between Pir Masha'ikh and his cousins for he left Pirana and took up his residence in Kadi; the locality of his residence is still known as Momnapura. In *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, it is suggested that Bibi Khadijah desired Pir Masha'ikh to carry on the independent *silsilah* established by her husband but this was declined by Pir Masha'ikh thus causing a break between the Imamshahi Syeds and their cousins. Since Pir Masha'ikh's son Pir 'Ab-u'l Hasan remained in Kadi, his descendants were known as the Kadiwal Syeds.

Fifth in the line of Pir Masha'ikh was Pir Masha'ikh II—the *pir* of the major part of the Momna community of north Gujarat. He was born in a village

[32] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, 320-4.

[33] Ibrahim, op. cit. 3-4. Also referred to in *Sara-u'l-Atkiya*, written in 1752, in the possession of the Sajjadnashin of the dargah of Shah 'Alam in Batwa: in pp. 35-41.

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named Jantral near Kadi, on Rabi II, 13, 1060/April 15, 1650. While he was only nine years of age, his father Syed Fazil Shah died and it appears that the young boy had to face a great deal of hardship. He grew up in Mominpura in Kadi and subsequently settled in Ahmedabad, at a place near the Sarangpur Gate, where his *dargah* now stands.

In his early youth, Pir Masha'ikh appears to have neglected his studies presumably due to his hard circumstances. Having become conscious of it, he prayed sincerely and his prayer was answered. In a short time, he became proficient in *'ilm*.[34]

Pir Masha'ikh was keenly concerned about the ignorance of his followers and the undesirable practices current among them. To eliminate them and to educate them in the right way, he wrote thirteen works in verse. This he is said to have commenced on Jamad I, 1099/March 1688 and completed in three years.[35] They are as under:

1. *Nurnama:* Contains an account of the Prophet and other Prophets as well, also autobiographical details.

2. *Mu'arijanama:* Mainly eschatological; also contains details of the Islamic faith and its superiority over others.

3. *Ghazawat:* Early history of Islam and the difficulties experienced by the Prophet in his mission.

4. *Girdi'yah:* An account of the Prophet and his family and their descendants.

5. *Mu'azzizzat*: On miracles; it also contains an account of Pir Masha'ikh's journey to the Deccan when Aurangzeb was engaged in the campaign against Bijapur and Golconda and relates his prayers for the Emperor and his success.

6. *Wisalnama:* An account of the last sickness and death of the Prophet and the events accompanying them.

7. *Khulfa-i-Rashidin:* Account of the first four Khalifas with observations on the Sunni and Shi'a sects.

8. *Maqtulnama Part I:* On the life of *Imams* Husain and Hasan and the difficulties experienced by them.

9. *Maqtulnama Part II:* On the last days of Imam Husain; also contains notices of the Twelve Ithna-Ashari Imams.

10. *I'man Part I:* On the Momins and their origin and conditions on the faith and its observances; and on *pirs* and their duties.

11. *I'man Part II:* On *Hadith*, eschatology and religious law; mainly directives regarding the proper conduct of life.

[34] Ibrahim, op. cit 4-5. Pirzada op. cit. 148. To the latter, the gift of knowledge was given by means of a miracle.

[35] This list is given on the authority of the *Masha'ikh Chishti na Jivan Charitra* (11-16). Both the reformists and the traditionalists are issuing their versions of his works and it is difficult to be certain of their number and contents unless a careful search for manuscript material is made. Tradition ascribes to him manuscript material which weighed eighteen maunds.

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12. *Ibadat Part I:* On religious law and on the proper discharge of religious duties; contains the prescribed duties proper for all occasions and their proper conduct.

13. *Ibadat Part II:* Continues and finishes the preceding part; the first is concerned with *ghusal*, *wuzu*, *azan*, *namaz*, their proper discharge; the second deals with *zakat*, *roza* and *haj*. It also deals with *nikah* and its dissolution, slaughtering of animals for food and the proper form in which they have to be done.

In an eighteenth century hagiological work, Pir Masha'ikh is said to have taken twelve years to complete these works and these works are held in high respect by his followers. They are written in Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu.[36]

The composition of these works in verse for the enlightenment of his followers was the great work of Pir Masha'ikh. His effort evidently was to introduce among them a greater degree of Islamization by ridding them of their Hindu practices and by informing them of the Islamic traditions. All his works were set in metre since they were intended for oral communication.

Pir Masha'ikh is also said to have visited Aurangzeb in the Deccan and prayed for his victory over Bijapur and Golconda. After the conquest of Bijapur, he is also said to have foretold the date of the fall of Golconda. This won him the favour and regard of the Emperor.[37]

In his last days, he stayed mostly at Ahmedabad, engaged in the composition of his works. He died at the early age of forty-two in Ahmedabad on Ramzan 21, 1108/April 12, 1697. His mausoleum stands outside the Sarangpur gate in that city.

During the last forty or fifty years, a number of Pir Masha'ikh's followers have shifted from their allegiance to the descendants of their *pir*. This schism has centred round the faith of Pir Masha'ikh himself: was he a Shi'a or a Sunni?

From his writings, it is clear that Pir Masha'ikh was against the type of half-Hindu Muslim converts made by Imam Shah and his descendants. His effort was to remove the vestiges of such *kufr* among his own followers. He had also completely given up the Isma'ili faith of his forbears.

It is difficult to decide his affiliations; in his books, he gives unmistakable evidence of his being a Sunni, especially in books which have been published by those who have seceded from the main stock. Further, his *silsilah* of *pirs* is traced to Khwajah Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti, which militates against his being anything but a Sunni. And finally, his partiality for Aurangzeb against the Shi'a Sultans of the Deccan indicates his proclivities.[38]

But this is explained by his Shi'a followers, especially the followers of his lineal descendant Hazar Pir Maulana Zahir Husain, as a *taqaiyyah* against the religious policy of Aurangzeb. Further, his descendants have been Shi'as and

[36] *Sara'-u'l-Atkiya*, 35-41.
[37] Ibrahim, op. cit. 93-107.
[38] Idem 101-02.

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so have been the majority of his followers; and this would have been hardly possible, had he been a Sunni.

As it is, bitter controversy has raged among the Momna leaders on this point. It has led to litigation too between the secessionists and Pir Mehr Husain about the ownership of the *dargah* and mosque of Pir Masha'ikh. Pir Mehr Husain denied its use to the secessionists but his claims were rejected and the mosque with the property attached to it was declared to be *waqf* for the use of the Momin *jama't* as a whole.[39]

[39] Idem 124-8.

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PART II

ACCOUNTS OF COMMUNITIES

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CHAPTER 4

THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: BRIEF NOTES

THESE DETAILS were arrived at mainly through the study of the *National Register of Citizens* maintained in different municipal and taluqa headquarters. They pertain only to those towns and taluqas where field-work could be done.

1. *Shaikh:* Under this heading as noticed above, the highest number of individuals were found. Especially, the number of Shaikhs in towns was much higher than in rural areas. In villages, agriculture and in towns, petty trade and government and private services appeared to be the main occupations. In Surat, the zari-making accounted for nearly 80 per cent of the Shaikhs.

The educational level was found to be relatively high especially in towns for at least one-third of them had been educated up to the primary level. Quite a number were found to be *pesh-imams* in local mosques.

The term Shaikh, as will be discussed later, is an omnibus term which covers a number of persons of heterogeneous origin as well as some distinct communities, like the zari-makers of Surat, who have taken over this surname.

2. *Sunni Vohra:* The highest number of Sunni Vohras was recorded in Bharuch district, followed by Surat, Sabarkantha, Baroda and Kaira district. Those in the north are evidently Patani Vohras, distinct from the Vohras of central and south Gujarat.

Mainly, this is a trading community with agriculture as its main occupation in rural areas. Their educational standards are fairly high, nearly 50 per cent being literate—a standard which compares with that of the Syeds. This is indicative of the rapid progress made by this community in the recent years. A fact which is not shown by these records is the high number of Sunni Vohra emigrants who have migrated to South Africa, Rhodesia, Burma and other countries as traders.

3. *Pathan:* The number of Pathans was found to be highest in Baroda district followed by Ahmedabad, Kaira, Mehsana and Banaskantha. In towns they are engaged in miscellaneous occupations like government and private services and small trade; however, they are mainly sought as watchmen. They have their own villages and in rural areas they are mainly cultivators.

Education is not widespread among them; only about a quarter of them are literate, though some of them were teachers and in religious service.

4. *Momin:* The bulk of the Momins are settled in the Banaskantha district and their distribution in other district indicates that they are there for their livelihood. In these areas, they are mainly a labouring community. Though their number falls towards the south, they have a heavy concentration in Bombay where the reform movement in the community began.

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In Banaskantha, they are primarily an agrarian community, with poor education. A number of them have taken to miscellaneous occupations in north Gujarat towns.

5. *Da'udi Bohra:* The fact that the bulk of the figures were collected from towns indicates the high number of Da'udi Bohras, in proportion to other Muslims. The highest number was found in Panch Mahals district, followed by Surat and Mehsana. In lesser numbers, they were found to be distributed all over Gujarat towns and villages.

The Da'udi Bohras, as is well-known, are a prosperous trading community. The figures revealed that only a very few of them followed any other calling. They have a good standard of education, nearly three-fourth of them having had at least primary education. Higher education is however rare among them—a fact not unusual considering their predilection for commerce.

6. *Ghanchi:* The highest concentration of Ghanchis was in Baroda followed by Panch Mahals. Traditionally, Godhra is the home-town of the Ghanchis but a large number came from Saurashtra and, as the name indicates, they are traditionally oil-pressers and oil-merchants. A number of them have also taken over the surname Shaikh, as later field-work indicated.

About one-third of the Ghanchis were found to be literate; but higher education was unusual. Many of them still follow their traditional calling but others have taken to miscellaneous professions, especially shop-keeping.

7. *Malek:* Baroda, Kaira and Bharuch were the main centres of the Maleks. Mainly an agrarian community Maleks, in towns, are engaged in industrial labour. Literacy was down to about a fourth in them and higher education even more scarce.

The Maleks are essentially a poor and backward community which has not diversified occupationally as others have been able to do. Possibly, this is due to their predominantly rural orientation and poverty. Here they stand in contrast with the Sunni Vohras, who have progressed rapidly in the past.

8. *Garasia:* Baroda accounted for about half the number followed by Bharuch and Banaskantha. The Garasias resemble the Maleks in their poverty and backwardness. In villages they are agriculturists and in towns, mill-workers and labourers. Less than a quarter of them were found to be literate.

The Rajput origin of the Garasias is indicated by their names which are still mostly Hindu. While the majority of them are poor, some Rajput land-owing families are very well-off and constitute the upper class of the Muslims.

9. *Syed:* Syeds were found to be evenly distributed in all districts of Gujarat with the highest number in Baroda, a fact which here, as in some other cases, can be due to the field-work being done in greater centres in Baroda district itself.

The Syeds were found to be mainly engaged in government and religious service, with a fairly high standard of education. Nearly half were literate and higher education was also relatively high among them. Economically also they appeared to be among the better-class Muslims.

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10. *Fakir:* A poor cultivating community found all over Gujarat, with its highest concentration in Baroda. The term Fakir means a mendicant and the traditional occupation of these people at one time was begging but now a number of them have settled and in villages they are cultivators and in towns they follow miscellaneous trades.

Education is low among them, less than a fourth being literate. Higher education is lower still.

11. *Musalman:* A heterogeneous group of persons which evidently does not form a community, found in Surat district following a variety of occupations.

12. *Mansoori:* Mansoori is an eponym from the hero of the Prophet's age, Mansoor al-Hallaj. It has been taken over by sections of two communities, the Ghanchis and the Pinjaras. The traditional profession of the Pinjara was to separate cotton from cotton-seed and make it suitable either for spinning or for being filled into quilts and mattresses.

These traditional occupations were found to be mainly followed by the Mansoonis, small numbers following miscellaneous trades. A rather small community of two wings, it is not educationally or economically very advanced.

13. *Khatki:* The highest number of Khatkis was found in Ahmedabad followed by Banaskantha. Traditionally, they are butchers and also found engaged in labour and private service.

They are service community, poor and backward. Less than a fifth of them were literate and only eight people had reached the high school stage.

14. *Chhippa:* Virtually the entire concentration of Chhippas was found in Ahmedabad. By profession, the Chhippas are dyers; in addition, they had taken to trade. In Ahmedabad, they lived in a locality which bears their name. Educationally, they are not very advanced; only about a fourth of them are literate.

15. *Kadia:* Baroda district and within Baroda, Dabhoi showed a concentration of Kadias. The community's name is derived from their profession of masonry, brick-laying and affiliation with house-construction; they work as labourers. They are a poor community with little education.

16. *Sipahi:* Sipahis are found mostly in north Gujarat, in Mehsana and Banaskantha district and are an agricultural community. In central and south Gujarat towns, they are engaged mostly in private service and miscellaneous occupations.

It is a poor community with a low educational standard. Barely a fifth of them were found literate.

17. *Tai:* The bulk of the Tais are concentrated in the Baroda district, especially the Dabhoi taluqa. Weaving was their traditional occupation and in recent times, they have taken to numerous other small trades. They are distinct from other Muslims in following the Mahdavi tenets which were spread in Gujarat by Syed Muhammad Jaunpori in the sixteenth century.

In Baroda, the Tais have a *wada* of their own. Their educational standards

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are not high for only a quarter of them were found to be literate but in recent years, they have improved. Their special doctrinal beliefs have placed them in a special position among the Muslims of Gujarat.

18. *Memon:* Memons are a well-known trading community with a distinct position of their own, analogous to Khojahs and Bohras, though with great difference in faith. Memon tradesmen and shop-keepers are to be found in every Gujarat town, though the figures indicated a higher concentration in north Gujarat than in the south.

Next to trade, service is the main occupation of the Memons. Nearly a third of them were literate and they are a prosperous trading community.

19. *Patel Vohra:* Though listed separately, this community is evidently a part of the larger Sunni Vohra affiliation. It is concentrated in Baroda and Bharuch districts and shares all the characteristics of the parallel community.

This distinction appears to have come about because while a large number of Sunni Vohras call themselves Patel, others do not.

20. *Sindhi:* A large number of them were found mainly in Baroda, where formerly they were employed in the state police and army; in north Gujarat Palanpur attracted them. Service, both government and private, especially in the police and like departments, is their first preference though they follow other callings when they must. Educationally backward—only about a fifth of them being literate—they are a poor community.

21. *Hajam:* The Muslim barber community; it is well distributed in all urban centres in Gujarat though a special concentration was found in Navasari town. Traditionally a service community, they have by and large retained their original profession. Education is low, only about a quarter being literate.

22. *Pinjara:* As noticed earlier, these are cotton-threshers, a craftsman community. By their distribution, it seems that they are concentrated mainly in south Gujarat. It may be that a large number of them have adopted the Mansoori surname in north Gujarat for they are few in south Gujarat.

Baroda, Bharuch and Surat have them in good numbers. They are a poor and backward community, less than a third being literate. In addition to the traditional calling of threshing, which no longer suffices, they have taken to miscellaneous callings like oil-selling, small trade and private service.

Since both the Ghanchis and Pinjaras have taken to oil-trade and since both have adopted the surname Mansoori, it appears probable that the two communities are near to one another and may have a common origin.

23. *Mughal:* Mainly concentrated in the coastal towns of Cambay, Surat and Bharuch and in Borsad and Ahmedabad. Government service is the first preference of the Mughals followed by private service and trade. Mughals are one of the four foreign Muslim communities but literacy was not found to be high among them, only about a fourth being literate. Higher education, by proportion, was greater.

24. *Kasbati:* Concentrated in the Kadi taluqa of the Mehsana district.

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This is mainly an agrarian community similar to Maleks and Garasia, though its origin is more dubious. The literacy is very low and it seems a poor and backward community.

25. *Alia Bohra:* A splinter of the Da'udi Bohra stock which broke away in the seventeenth century, the Alia Bohra community is limited to Baroda city alone, where they have a locality of their own. They are exclusively traders and very similar to other Shi'a Bohras.

26. *Kumbhar:* The Muslim potter community, found in Banaskantha district, with very few numbers in other districts. The educational standard is almost negligible and the community is still following its traditional calling. A poor and backward community.

27. *Dudhwala:* Found mainly in Baroda city and in fewer numbers in Ahmedabad. Their main occupation is reported to have been selling milk but in recent times, they have taken to driving *ghoda-gadis* or horse-carriages and lately autorickshaws and taxis. They also follow other miscellaneous callings like small shop-keeping, private service, etc. Educational standards are low and the community appears to be relatively well-off compared to others.

28. *Baluch:* Mainly in the Banaskantha district where in the Radhanpur area, there is a large Baluch agrarian population. They are to be distinguished from the peripatetic Baluch traders whose number has gone down after Partition. In places other than their home, they are labourers and follow little-paid callings. Educational standards are low and generally this is a poor community.

29. *Makrani:* Another branch of the Baluch community though distinct from the preceding one. Mainly concentrated in the Chhota Udepur taluqa of Baroda for that state had a corps of these mercenaries. Chiefly engaged in agriculture, labour and small trade. Generally poor and educationally backward, they are on par with other communities like Sindhis, Kasbatis and Sipahis.

30. *Behlim:* An agrarian community like the Maleks and Garasias, found mainly in the Banaskantha and Mehsana districts. Other occupations which they follow in towns are petty trade and butcher's. About a quarter were found to be literate. It appears to be a poor community.

31. *Kureshi:* An eponym from Quresh, the tribe to which the Prophet belonged. Found mainly in all urban centres of Gujarat, especially in Mehsana and Banaskantha districts. The occupations followed are mainly petty trade and service and in most cases, that of butcher. From this it appears that a section of the Khatki community has adopted this surname. This urge of social rise is also reflected in a slightly better educational average than the Khatkis, for, nearly a third of the Kureshis were found to be literate compared to a fourth of the Khatkis.

32. *Mirasi:* Mostly found in northern Gujarat, especially Banaskantha, the Mirasis are traditionally dancers and singers. Many of them still follow the calling of begging and singing and others have taken to petty service, labour

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and other little-paid callings. Educationally backward—less than a sixth of their number being literate—they are a poor community.

33. *Khatri:* Concentrated in the Dabhoi, Sankheda and Jambugam taluqas of the Baroda districts, with sprinklings elsewhere. As a community, they are engaged in the retail trade of cloth and handspun yarn. Economically they are well-off and educationally also they are advanced, more than half their number being literate with proportionate higher education.

34. *Khokhar:* Mainly in Baroda and Mehsana districts with smaller numbers in Bharuch, Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts. A community, mainly engaged in agriculture and in towns, labour; education is low, less than a fourth being literate.

35. *Dhobi:* Well-distributed all over Gujarat towns. A service community which has retained its traditional calling, only a very few follow any other profession. Education is low, only a quarter being literate.

36. *Jat:* Concentrated in Banaskantha district especially in the Santhalpur taluqa. A poor community of agricultural labourers with a very low education index—only 22 in over a thousand being literate. Many of them were reported to be employed as village watchmen.

37. *Nagori:* A migrant community from Rajasthan, as the name implies settled mainly in Banaskantha and Ahmedabad. Its main occupation both in villages and towns is labour. Educationally about a quarter were reported to be literate.

38. *Khojah:* The well-known Shi'a Isma'ili community which is well-distributed all over Gujarat towns. It is educationally advanced and is economically prosperous, engaged almost exclusively in trade.

39. *Ghasoora:* In Banaskantha only. A rural community engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour with a very low educational index.

40. *Ghanchi:* Major concentration in Banaskantha district but also found in smaller numbers in Baroda, Bharuch and Sabarkantha districts. Nearly a quarter of them were found to be literate. The main occupations were agriculture and the community appears to be on level with others like Maleks. The name suggests that it is akin to the Pathan.

41. *Multani:* Mainly in Bharuch and Sabarkantha districts. In Bharuch, they were found to have a fairly good educational standard while in Sabarkantha, no literate was reported!

The main occupations in Bharuch were private service and trade while in north Gujarat, it was cattle-breeding. This difference suggests a change in occupation as the members of this community moved to the south.

42. *Kasai:* Unevenly distributed in all districts with a very low figure in Baroda. Evidently, this is a splinter of the Khatki community for it follows the profession of the butcher. Unlike the Khatkis who are mainly urban, this is a rural community and in addition to its traditional calling is also engaged in labour and service. On the whole it is a poor and educationally backward community.

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43. *Arab:* An urban community with large numbers in Baroda, Ahmedabad and Palanpur. Formerly, large numbers were engaged in the police and armed forces of Indian states and subsequently they have taken to miscellaneous occupations, especially small shops, restaurants and bakeries. Educationally, it is a fairly well advanced community with about a third of its members being literate and also with some higher education.

44. *Bhatti:* Mainly concentrated in Banaskantha and Bharuch districts. They are thus divided in two wings; in the north they are mainly agriculturists and labourers while in the south, they also engage in trade. Educationally also, the standard appears better in Bharuch than in Sabarkantha.

45. *Bhishti:* This water-carrier community is distributed all over Gujarat, mainly in rural areas, and small towns. Their main profession in these areas is to serve as water-carriers and domestic servants in Muslim households. This explains their absence from larger towns with water supply arrangements. Very few are literates and the community is evidently poor

46. *Rangrez:* Evenly distributed in all Gujarat towns with a higher figure in Baroda. The name indicates that they are north Indian dyers and most of them appear to follow this profession. Nearly half were literate and some had higher education too.

47. *Sumra:* In Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts, with some in Baroda. Like the Maleks and Behlims, an agrarian community but with a higher index of education.

48. *Sulaimani:* One of the offshoots of the Shi'a Bohra community which split off in the sixteenth century. Though concentrated in Baroda city it has also settlements in Bombay, Hyderabad and Pakistan. Economically very advanced this community has a very high index of education. Predominantly engaged in trade, the other occupation they have taken to is government service. A prosperous and progressive community.

49. *Khanzada Pathan:* A local community settled in the Pandu village of the Sanwali taluqa, Baroda district. Mainly engaged in service and small trade. Evidently, they have formed a closed group by themselves and have developed into an endogamous unit, distinct from other Pathans. Education is fair.

50. *Ranma:* A localized labour community settled in the Santhalpur taluqa of the Banaskantha district. A poor community with a very low education index.

51. *Bhatiara:* Mainly in urban centres like Ahmedabad and Baroda. It is doubtful if they are a community for they live very much dispersed and are employed as cooks, which may have been the cause of this designation. Bhatiaras are a definite caste in north India.

52. *Luhar:* Mainly in the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad district; mainly rural, they are engaged in blacksmithy and other labour. About a quarter literate.

53. *Nayak:* Localized agricultural community in the Thorad taluqa of

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the Banaskantha district, like Ranmas, but unlike them, agricultural. Almost without literacy.

54. *Maniar:* Mainly in Baroda and Ahmedabad. Traditionally bangle-sellers but now also engaged in other small trades. Commercial community with a fairly good educational index.

55. *Kazi:* Mainly in the Dehgam taluqa of the Ahmedabad district. Main occupations, trade and service. Kazi in pre-British period was an official functioning as a civil registrar of marriages and judge. This epithet has therefore been borrowed by families, Shaikh and Syed, who were engaged in that work. Thus, this does not seem to be a community.

56. *Soni:* Mainly Chhota Udepur in Baroda. Craftsman community, goldsmiths, with a fairly good educational index. Its localization suggests that it is a part of another community which has taken to this craft. Otherwise it should have been a widespread community.

57. *Suthar:* Another craftsman community, carpenters, mainly concentrated in the Kaira district. Nearly half its strength was reported to be literate.

58. *Silat:* Another craftsman community engaged in stone-cutting, mainly concentrated in Banaskantha with fewer numbers in all other districts. Palanpur town had the largest number of Silats. Educational standard is low.

59. *Kalaigara:* Another craftsman community with its greatest concentration in Baroda town. Their main calling is to treat the utensils with a white polish which gives a silver sheen to them.

A poor community with a very low educational level.

60. *Nalbandh:* Concentrated in Ahmedabad city. Traditionally they shod the horses' feet with horseshoes and they still do the same work. Nearly a third of the community were literate.

It seems also possible that the word *Nalbandh* has been used in its occupational connotation to describe that section of the blacksmith community which has taken to this work.

61. *Babi:* A Pathan community to which the ruling houses of Palanpur, Cambay and Junagadh belonged. Its main centre is Palanpur and Cambay in the mainland.

Excluding the affluent sections associated with the ruling families, the community is a poor, agricultural one and some of them were *khatkis* or butchers. Only about a quarter of them were reported to be literate.

62. *Mochi:* Cobblers by tradition, they are concentrated in the Sinor and Dabhoi taluqas of the Baroda district. It is a poor and backward community though about 40 per cent were reported literate.

63. *Chhakda:* A labour community limited to Godhra town which is almost illiterate. How far it constitutes a community appears doubtful in view of its localization and lack of occupational specialization.

64. *Barot:* In Baroda and Surat districts. The traditional recorders of the Rajput families, they appear to have embraced Islam with their patrons.

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They maintain the genealogies of their patrons. In addition, they have now taken to service and small trade and are also small land-holders. Educationally, they are fairly placed, nearly a third of them being literate.

65. *Sidi:* Distributed in small numbers in all parts of Gujarat. Mainly a service and labouring class of African origin. A poor community of whom about a third were reported to be literate.

66. *Jamad:* An agricultural and labouring community localized in the Wadgaon taluqa of the Banaskantha district, with a very low education index.

67. *Bhoi:* Concentrated in Baroda town. Formerly, mainly domestic servants, now have taken to miscellaneous professions mainly labour. Nearly a fourth of them were reported literate.

68. *Daimadi:* Concentrated in Cambay town. A local labouring community with a very low educational level.

69. *Marwadi:* Mainly in Mehsana district. As the name indicates, they are like Nagoris, Rajasthani Muslims who have migrated. Mainly an urban community, they are engaged in private service and trade.

Beginning with the Marwadi, the strength of the communities enumerated falls below a hundred and does not make it possible to make any generalization. Therefore they have been listed as in Appendix B.

It will be noted that this enumeration is based on population records maintained in different centres and detailed notices of the communities, details regarding whom could be ascertained by field-work, follow in the next chapter. These notices therefore contain references to those communities also which may not be communities but only occupational groups.

Also, these population records were based on the 1951 census and it is possible that with the passage of the three Five Year Plans, the occupational patterns might have altered and educational level improved.

An important value of these records lies in the fact that they are based on a person's own declaration of his affiliations and as such indicate the caste framework of the Muslim social system. For this reason, an analysis of this data preceded the actual field-work in the communities themselves.

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CHAPTER 5

MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: DETAILED ACCOUNTS

ARAB

The Arabs entered Gujarat as traders even before the beginning of the Muslim period but no traces of the early Arabs are to be found now. Those Arabs who are to be found now came to Gujarat mainly in the eighteenth century to enlist the forces of the Indian princes like those of the Gaekwads and the Maharao of Kacchh.

Arabs are therefore to be found in many towns in Gujarat but their main concentration is in the capitals of former Indian states like Baroda and Bhuj. In Baroda, they had their *karkhanaz* or *bedas* i.e. platoons, and *jamadars*, the paymasters of these Arab mercenary soldiers. These Arab bands created endless troubles for the last Gaekwad rulers before their acceptance of the Subsidiary Alliance; it was Major Walker, the first British Resident in Baroda, who broke their power and disbanded these troops (1802). Descendants of these paymasters are still to be found in Baroda.

According to the Baroda Arabs, they have hailed mostly from Hadhramaut and this appears to be true for the Arabs elsewhere as well. Unlike the other Sunni Muslims, they accept the Shafa'i code of law; their *namaz* and personal law is therefore slightly different.

Arabs have a loose *jama't* system in most towns where they are in sufficient numbers; in Baroda they have about 35 to 40 households containing about 300 members. Generally, they marry among themselves, preferably among close relations; but they also can give their daughter to Syeds, if they think the house is really good.

Talks regarding marriage are initiated by the bridegroom's people by sending a small sum of money and sugar to the bride's place, which is reciprocated by offering *sharbat* and sweets. In Ahmedabad, the bridegroom's people also send a *dopatta* for the girl and a ring; this is reciprocated by a ring being sent for the boy from the girl's side.

Marriage, as elsewhere, is a gala affair. Usually a *maulud* is held for which friends and relations are invited. The bridegroom's place has then a *shamiana* fitted in the house, which is the beginning of the function. The *dulha* has *haldi* applied to him which is brought to him by the young girls of the bride's side amidst a great deal of laughter and teasing; it is then taken back and with it the *dulha's* clothes are stained.

On the day of marriage, the *jahez* is sent by the girl's household to the boy's; and in return, presents—ornaments, a great deal of perfume and many other things—are sent for the bride. During this period, drums (*dhols*) are beaten outside both the households; now-a-days these ancient instruments have been

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replaced by recorded music blared over the microphones, the *dhol* being relegated to a corner, where it is beaten only for *shugan*.

The bridegroom's procession first proceeds to the *mazar* of some *pir*, where the *fatiha* is read and a coconut broken. Then it proceeds to the bride's house. When it reaches the house, the first to halt it is the young brother-in-law; he holds the horse by the rein and asks for *bag pakadai*; when he is satisfied, he offers *sharbat* to the bridegroom which he drinks while on horseback, and drops a few coins in the glass.

Then comes the *nikah*. If a *peerzada* is present, he is requested by the *kazi* to read the *nikah*; if not, he himself conducts the same. The ceremony is followed by another round of *sharbat* after which *chhuhare* (dried raisins) are distributed to all present; it is expected that every guest will put in a small sum in the drinking glass. And then is held a convivial *mahafil*, which formerly was frequented by dancing girls but now by less convivial recreations.

On the second day, the *barat* is treated to a feast by the bride's people; on the same day, the *dulha* is taken to the women's apartments, where he sees his bride's face in a mirror—an occasion of much merry-making. Before he sees it, reads a *sura* of the *Qur'an* over the mirror. This is followed by presents being given to the *dulha*.

And finally comes the *rukhsati*; formerly, the bride was carried in a *dola* and this was called *miyana*.

When the bridegroom reaches his house, he is faced with a closed door; before it can be opened, his sister has to be satisfied by given her "right" or a fixed charge. Then the pair read the *namaz-i-shukrana*, after which the ceremony of *chauth*—the fourth day ceremony or the conclusion—is performed. For this, the *dulha* is invited to his father-in-law's house and feasted.

At birth, the *azan* is given into the new-born babe's ears. On the sixth day, the baby is named and dinner given. The midwife is given an adequate recompense with gifts, for, on this day her duty ends. On the fortieth day, when the mother takes her final purificatory bath, layette for the child and mother is received from the mother's parental household including an outfit for the father. On the same day, the entire household proceeds to the *mazar* of the *pir*, with offerings of milk and rice.

In the fourth year, the *khatnah* takes place. The child is formally taken in a procession to the *mazar* where a new sheet is laid over the sepulchre; this costly process is now declining. He is subsequently circumcised. When he attains the age of four years, four months, four days, he is initiated into the world of learning: *bism-i'llah* being read to him and he is made to 'read' it by an elder, usually a maulwi. Formerly this was an occasion of presents, offerings and celebrations, now rather going out of vogue.

On death, for the three days, until the *ziyarat*, no food is cooked in the house. After the body has been interred, according to due Muslim rites, food is cooked; next morning the *Qur'an* is read in the nearby mosque and *batashe* distributed.

Religious instruction is given in the local madrasahs—the Arabs do not

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have madrasahs of their own. They do not have *maulwīs* or *hafizes* in their community, which indicates that religious education is generally not very deep. They receive secular education in schools and a number of them have passed the high school; a few have gone to the Colleges and Universities.

The Arabs were traditionally soldiers, but peace has deprived them of their martial calling during the last century and a half. They have taken to a number of other occupations. Among them are mechanics, small shop-keepers and hotel-owners cycle repair shop-keepers, bakers and so on. Many of them serve in the factories but they do not appear to take easily to service. Economically, they are generally of middle class standard.

Till about a generation or so ago, the Arabs claim that they understood Arabic; they claim that there are a few who do so even now. But now their mother-tongue is Urdu, in which the element of Gujarati words is generally lesser compared with other Muslims; many of them speak fluent and faultless Urdu. They also, of course, read, write and speak Gujarati and recently have learnt Hindi.

Formerly, the Arab dress was a *tahmad, kurta* and *safa*; some also wore *surban*, shirt and cap. Now, they wear the usual Muslim dress: shirt, pyjama and cap and coat. The women dress in *izar, kurti* and *dopatta.*

ANSARI

Ansar refers to the people of Medina who helped the Prophet after his flight from Mecca to that city. It has been therefore a favourite of new Muslims and there have been a number of communities who have by degrees, as they have slowly risen or attempted to rise in the social scale, taken on this appellation in place of the old.

In Gujarat, this *laqab* especially distinguishes a community of artisans, found mostly in Baroda and other central Gujarat towns of the Kaira district, hailing from Rajasthan. In Baroda, they are mostly called Marwadis; in their native towns of Sojat and nearby places they were referred to as Julahas, indicating thereby that in those regions, their occupation was that of weaving.

The Ansaris are a labouring community, engaged mostly in bricklaying, *kalai* (nickel-polishing metal utensils), factory labour and such other professions. Naturally, they are backward and the educational standard is low. Only a few children go to madrasahs, though lately there has been an increase in their number; some of them have also gone to high schools but few have progressed beyond that.

In Baroda, a number of them were employed in the establishment of the Maharajah of Baroda and their *mohalla* is adjacent to the palace gates. As the former Maharajah Sayajirao helped ambitious and intelligent young men from these backward communities, the Ansaris got the opportunity to improve their standards. One of them became a lawyer. But the general condition of the Ansaris at present does not seem to have been much affected.

The Ansaris put on shirt and pyjamas but add usually a *safa* which in these

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days is giving place to a cap. Their women wear an *izar* which is narrower than those worn by other Muslim women. It is said that this change in women's dress is a recent one; within living memory their dress was in no way different from that of Rajasthani women.

Though poor and ill-informed, Ansaris are zealous in religious matters and are keen to say their prayers if they can. They take pride in the fact that there have been several *hajis* and *hafizes* among them.

There is no overt communal organization in the Ansaris but they live mostly in the same *mohalla* and do not marry outside. Their marriages are mostly simple and no dowry is offered; formerly, they might have accepted bride-money but this practice is strictly prohibited now. The *mehr* is usually small and the *nikah* is read by a *kazi*. (See also *infra* p. 103).

Behlims

Behlims are an agrarian community, found mostly in north Gujarat, in the districts of Mehsana and Banaskantha. Originally, they appear to have been Rajputs; their customs are close to the Maleks. According to their accounts however, this title of Behlim was granted to Mas'ud Ghazi due to his learning; it was originally *ba-'ilm*, which has now become *behlim*. Their community, they claim, is still related to Mas'ud by certain rites.

Behlims observe the Muslim customs of *aqiqa*, *khatnah*, and *bism-i'llah*. *Aqiqa*, they call *mundan*, and it is performed only for the boy, never for a girl. The boy's mother abstains from taking meat until this ceremony is over. In the communal dinner, in which the flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, only the Behlims can participate. A few have begun to go against this tradition but they are scarce.

They do not celebrate the first *rozah* observed by the child.

Marriage talks, as usual, are initiated by the boy's side. Formerly, coloured water was thrown on the people participating but now this practice has been given up. Generally marriages take place in the same locality and hence only one dinner is given. The marriage procession reaching the bride's place is also welcomed by sprinkling salt. Elaborate entertainments like dances by dancing girls or buffoons (*bhands*) have been given up of late.

Death is attended by the usual Muslim rites.

The Behlims intermarry with other Muslims whom they consider to be of a status equivalent to theirs; for instance, with Pathans, Shaikhs and Ghoris: never, as one informant told us, with any kind of Vohras. In Sankheda, we were told, that they also " gave and took " from the Molesalams of Bahadurpur, for " even though Molesalam girasias they had a greater degree of Islamic influence and were therefore closer to the Behlims."

The Behlims venerate *pirs* and *shahids* and make offerings to them, like other Muslims. In Kheralu, their graveyard is around the *mazar* of Hazrat Rukn-u'l-din urf Rukh Shah Shahid and Hazrat Pir Saheb. In addition to those they venerate other *shahids* in the locality, and *urs* of these *pirs* are observed with

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due respect.

The Behlims are Gujarati-speaking though they also speak Urdu mixed with Gujarati; we were also told that they speak Urdu at home. Religious education in them is sufficient to give the child a degree of knowledge sufficient for the efficient discharge of his religious obligations. Girls in villages and small towns are generally not sent to schools outside though a necessity for their education is being felt.

There is no organized *jama't* system among the Behlims but a strong consensus of communal opinion is there. They live together in the same *mohalla*, and have their own graveyards. As they are Sunni *hanafis*, they use common mosques and have felt no necessity of having their especial ones.

Largely, the Behlims are a service community, traders being not many. In villages, they are agriculturists but this too is infrequent. In towns, besides service, they take to miscellaneous occupations, sometimes of *khatkis*. They are generally of lower middle class to poor, slightly better off as the Maleks and other Rajput land-owning classes.

Bhands

The Bhands were a community of professional musicians and mimics. They claim to have come to Gujarat about a hundred and fifty years ago from Hindustan or Uttar Pradesh; in Baroda a number of them came in the time of Maharajah Khande Rao, the predecessor of Maharajah Sayajirao. They have about twenty-five households in Baroda and a few also in other towns like Khambhat, Dabhoi and Surat.

Formerly, the Bhands were much in demand on auspicious occasions like birth and marriage in both Hindu and Muslim land-owning classes. But this patronage has been almost constantly on the decline as opinion went against this form of entertainment. Among the Bhands too, a consciousness of their calling was felt so that they sought the earliest opportunity to get rid of their associations with this profession. Hence now only a very few have continued in their traditional calling; most others have taken to miscellaneous urban professions like hotel-keeping, *pan-bidi* shops and the weaving of hemp ropes.

The Bhands have the *jama't* organization; they are Sunni Muslims and their marriages take place among themselves and parallel communities; generally, they prefer to marry among themselves except those who are well off and move out. The marriages take place according to Sunni rites and the *mehr* varies from Rs. 27 to Rs. 127. Silver ornaments and clothes are sent by the bridegroom's side to the bride; the dowry is according to the economic standing of the bride's people.

The Bhands have a keen sense of religious obligation; a number of them have performed the *haj* and as the informant in Baroda proudly told us, the Baroda Municipality intends to change the name of their *mohalla* from Bhandwara to Hajiwara. They have a mosque in their *mohalla* but no madrasah and their children have their elementary religious education in other *mohallas*.

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In addition, the Bhands are the followers (*murids*) of Sufi religious orders like the Refai and the Chishti. They accept *pirs* from the families who have either descended from or have associations with these orders.

Having come from the North, the Bhands have been mainly Urdu-speaking but the long residence in Gujarat has definitely affected their tongue. Their children receive their education in Gujarati and all of them speak Gujarati as their mother-tongue. They have not yet taken to English education.

The Bhands are a poor and backward labour community without much education. They have been trying to rise higher in the social scale by discarding their former profession, which in recent years, has been regarded with general disfavour. This has taken the shape of greater zeal in religious observances like *haj*, and efforts to have their locality renamed by a more respectable epithet.

Bhoi

Bhoi is a community with a Hindu and a Muslim wing. In Hindus, it has again two sections, one which has taken to fishing in rivers and dealing in it, and the other which is primarily engaged in domestic and other services and labour. It is also called the Kahar.

The Muslim Bhois belong mainly to the latter profession; they are mainly a labouring community. They are mainly to be found in former capitals like Baroda where they served the ruling and other families as palanquin-bearers; they have also gone to Ahmedabad, mainly from Baroda.

In Baroda, they have a *mohalla* called Bhoiwada; they have a mosque and a graveyard. The mosque has a few shops attached to it and is managed by a trust, which is in a way also the Bhoi organization, though the Bhois do not have a specific *jama't* organization, even when they have the *jama'tbandi* system and a *patel* who officiates at marriage and death.

The Bhois marry only among themselves; the Baroda *jama't* has only recently established contact with those in Ahmedabad. The *aqiqa*, *khatnah* and *bism-i'llah* are celebrated as in other Muslim communities; in marriage, silver ornaments are generally given and the *mehr* is fixed at Rs. 127. Communal dinner has been made optional.

During Muharram, the Bhoiwada *mohalla* has a *tazia* of its own and on the 9th and 10th days they fast. Other Muslim festivals are celebrated as by others.

Bhois are great believers in *pirs*. They follow either the Refai family of Baroda, the Chishti family of Ahmedabad or the Imam Shahi Syeds belonging to Pirana. In their locality, there is an *Imamshahi khana* which is frequented by followers of that order.

The standard of education is low among the Bhois. Religious education is rudimentary for the child has to move on to earn his livelihood. Only one boy and one girl are reported to have passed the Matriculation examination. They speak Gujarati at home but understand Urdu and Hindi as well.

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Formerly, the Bhois used to wear of *dhoties;* late, they have started using common Muslim dress of shirt, pyjama and cap. Bhoi women, however, have to a great extent retained their dress though a greater number are taking up the pyjama, *kurta* and *dopatta.*

The Bhois are a poor and backward community. Persons who get relatively better off tend to add 'Shaikh' to their name, sometimes to get rid of their former associations. With this, their effort to Islamize their way of life increases. In these cases, the marriage pattern also changes and they pass out of the community.

CHAUHANS

As the name indicates, Chauhans are Rajputs, found mostly in north Gujarat. Traditionally, they were an agrarian community but, of late, have gone to urban areas where they follow miscellaneous occupations. In many ways, they resemble other Rajputs like Maleks and share many a custom with them.

The ceremonies attendant on birth are as in other Muslim sects except that there is no *satwansa,* though the first delivery always takes place at the girl's parental home. On the sixth day, the child is named and on the fortieth, the final purificatory bath is taken.

The *bism-i'llah* is not performed by the Chauhans. The *aqiqa* is done for all the children of the locality once a year thus saving a lot of individual expenditure. *Khatnah* was formerly a major ceremony, very much resembling a wedding; a communal dinner was given, dresses (*paherammi*) were presented to the child and his parents, the child was taken in a procession with music and bands playing, and the relatives gave presents (*chandla*) to the child. It was followed by convivial assemblies. It usually entailed heavy expense which was sometimes defrayed by borrowings. This is, however, now going out of practice by general consent.

The Chauhans have the *jama'thandi* system but they can and do marry outside their community, both giving and taking girls. Here also the primary question is now one of equal status, both social and economic. Other things being equal, they prefer to marry in their own relations in the community.

Marriages take place when the boy is about eighteen to twenty and the girl fourteen to sixteen; till recently, engagements were made by parents while their wards were still under ten.

Marriages, till recently, were celebrated with a great deal of show and elaboration, involving heavy expenses but this is no longer the case now. Communal feasts, which were common before, are becoming rarer. Most other customs are similar to those of other Rajput Muslims.

The same is true of the rites after death.

The Chauhans are Sunni Muslims and observe all Sunni festivals. As with other Muslims, they have the *pir-muridi* system but except for shrines which are generally venerated by all Muslims, they have no special objects of worship.

Of late the children have been more intensively subjected to religious educa-

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tion. In Kalol, where there are about ninety households of Chauhans, they go to the madrasah where they are taught the elements of religious obligations.

The Chauhans are a community which has been greatly influenced by the reformist movements. This is particularly true of Kalol, where several societies for effecting social reform have come into existence.

The Chauhans were traditionally agriculturists but having come to towns, they have taken to subordinate services, labour and small trade. They prefer to live together in the same locality, and they are found in small numbers in the towns of north Gujarat.

The Chauhans claim Urdu to be their mother-tongue but it is evident that their Urdu, like most of other Gujarati Muslims who claim this language to be their own, is of a different vintage from the one spoken in the north. It is very highly laden with Gujarati words and its verb-endings tend to take the Gujarati form. There is, however, an attempt with the movement of social reform to emphasize the greater use of this language as well as to achieve a better standard of purity. It is however clear that they feel more at home in Gujarati which they read, write and speak with fluency.

It may however be noted that their language for domestic use amongst themselves is not Gujarati but the Urdu patois referred to above.

The Chauhans dress as other Muslims in shirt, pyjama and coat but they usually have a *safa* round their head.

CHHAPARBANDH

The Chhaparbandhs are a community residing mainly in Ahmedabad alone where they have about fifty to fifty-two households. According to their legends, their ancestor arrived in Ahmedabad with Pir Nasir-u'd-din, about five hundred years ago, and settled there. In this way, their entire *jama't* is an extended family as all of them are the descendants of a single progenitor.

The name Chhaparbandh means a 'constructor of roofs'. This they explain by saying that they were, and still to some extent are, employed in making ropes out of *sarkat* (Indian willow) plants; as the roofs were formerly fashioned out of the thatching got from this plant, they also made excellent thatchings for roofs. Till the time when baked tiles displaced thatching and other forms of roofing came into vogue, the Chhaparbandhs had a lucrative craft.

The Chhaparbandhs are organized in a *jama't*. Till recently they had a generally acknowledged leader of the *jama't*, called *patel* or *mukhi*. Formerly, this was by a general consensus of opinion but now, the *mukhi-patel* is elected by a general assembly of the community once a year. Simultaneously, four other 'councillors' are elected and these *panch* direct and run the community. On occasions like marriage and death, they come together and organize the ceremonies properly.

Marriages take place within the community only. Girls are neither given nor taken from outside.

The major customs and rites in the Chhaparbandh are similar to those of

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other Muslims. In this matter, as it was emphasized, many old customs have been given up in recent years, the attempt being to simplify and cheapen the elaborate and expensive rites and ceremonies.

For instance, formerly on the occasions of the *khatnah* which generally precedes *bism-i'llah*, it was compulsory for a person to hold a communal dinner. If he failed to do it, social relations with him were severed and he remained ostracized until he publicly asked to be forgiven and held the feast. Only then was he readmitted to the *jama't*. Now, keeping in view the economic situation, these stringent regulations have been relaxed and it is not expected that a person will feed the entire *jama't*.

The Chhaparbandhs, in addition to other rites common to all Muslims, have an additional ceremony. Until the age of five, the child is dressed only in a shirt, without any dress for his lower limbs. When the boy attains the age of five, he is taken to the mausoleum of Mir Kamal-u'd-din Saheb where after the offering and distribution of sweets and flowers, the *mujawir* ceremoniously endows the child with the *izar*.

The marriage is accompanied by all the noisy and joyous customs, including general splashing of coloured water, both among men and women, a custom which is generally going out of fashion. The minimum *mehr* is fixed at Rs. 127.50 but varies according to the status of the parties concerned.

The rites accompanying death are similar to other Muslims, including the ceremony after four-and-a-half months when the *sog* of the widow is officially terminated and she is free to remarry.

The Chhaparbandhs claim Urdu to be their mother tongue but this is as mixed as among other Gujarati Muslims. They read, write and speak Gujarati. Their children go to schools but few have gone beyond the elementary stage. English education is very rare. Religious education is given only to the extent of making the child aware of his obligations. No one has yet become a *maulvi* or *hafiz* from amongst them.

The Chhaparbandhs, as a community, are the *murids* of Nasir-u'd-din Chishti's successors. They have respect for their *pir* and for matters which the *jama't* cannot decide, they go to him. As mentioned earlier, they formerly had a single *chaudhari* but now elect a *panch* to manage their affairs.

Economically, the Chhaparbandhs are a poor community. Their traditional occupation of rope making has been relegated to women and old men; the rest go out for service in mills or elsewhere.

The Chhaparbandhs are an example of a highly-knit, well-organized traditional community which has been able to retain its social order intact, even in an industrial city like Ahmedabad. In particular, it is keen on retaining its endogamous character and the *panch* see to it that it is not violated. And yet, it tries to move with the times in doing away with what it feels are harmful customs repugnant to the tenets of Islam; but it does not feel any contradiction in maintaining its autonomy and prohibiting intermarriage and thus going the full way in accepting the egalitarian, non-distinguishing ethics of Islam.

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CHOPDA

The Chopdas are Vohras from Dhandhuka where they are mostly cultivators. Some of them have migrated to other towns for livelihood, specially to Ahmedabad. Here they have taken to trade and service.

The Chopdas are an educated community, specially in towns; in Ahmedabad, their community boasted of a number of graduates many of whom have taken to government service. Religious education is limited to giving the knowledge of religious obligations but not to training as *hafizes* or *maulwis*.

Their language they claim to be Urdu but they know that it is far from pure, having a heavy Gujarati tinge. All of them speak Gujarati and the more educated, English too.

The Chopdas do not have *jama'thandi* and they marry with all Muslims, keeping in mind the question of status; here family and economic standing become important, rather than the community. Their houses too, in towns, are dispersed over the city, thus emphasizing the loosening bonds of the community.

The Chopdas observe Muslim festivals and their rites and customs have become like other Muslims. Expensive and elaborate celebrations are on the decline, as elsewhere.

DHOBI

The Dhobis are a service community which are to be found in every town of Gujarat. As is well-known, there are Hindu dhobis as well as Muslim close to each other except in the matter of religion.

The Dhobis are organized in *jama'ts*, each town having its own organization. Since recently, the office-holders of this *jama't* known as *chaudhari* or *patel* are elected by a general body meeting. In some towns, however, the system of election has not penetrated and the headmen are appointed by a general consensus of opinion.

The *jama'thandi* system among the Dhobis, is exceptionally strict, not only as regards marriages outside the community, which is totally forbidden, but also regarding the maintenance of internal discipline and communal activities. On the occasion of *bism-i'llah*, *khatnah*, marriage and death, a communal dinner is insisted upon, failing which, the offending party is ex-communicated. In one such case which came to our notice, the widow who failed to give the required dinner on the death of her husband, was ex-communicated; her son offered to pay a hundred rupees as penalty but the *jama't* was insistent upon an apology from the widow herself. On the occasion of engagement too, a payment has to be made to the *jama't* without which the matter cannot proceed further.

The exigencies of their calling however, do not permit the Dhobis to live together and they are scattered in different parts of the town. This has prevented them, despite their strong organization, from having a mosque or any other similar establishment of their own.

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Unlike other service communities, the Dhobis have remained dhobis, practically without exception. In bigger places, a few of them have opened laundries where they operate electric machines but the rest have retained their traditional way of washing clothes.

The Dhobis speak Gujarati and though they are familiar with the Urdu patois and use it, when necessary, they prefer to use Gujarati. Education is low among them, including religious education. In towns like Baroda and Ahmedabad, they are beginning to send their children to Gujarati schools but few of them pass beyond the Vernacular final examination. Only Ahmedabad, it was said, was an exception, for, there a few women had received higher education and were working as teachers in primary schools.

The *pir-muridi* system is also widely accepted among the Dhobis. It is uncommon to find a Dhobi who is *be-pir*; in Baroda for instance, they are the followers of the Refai order mostly.

The Dhobis observe the Muslim festivals with care, especially Muharram, during which most localities where they live, have *taziahs* of their own prepared. In Ramzan, they keep fasts, at least a few of them. Similarly, during Rajab, mosques are lighted and on *Shab-i-barat* they visit tombs and offer flowers to *mazars*.

Birth ceremonies are not different from other Muslims; so are also *bism-i'llah*, *khatnah* and *aqiqa* though among them, the ban on music is not accepted and a communal dinner is usually insisted upon. In marriage, the engagement is preceded by a payment to the *jama't* and the bridegroom's people expect some dowry. The *mehr* is fixed at Rs. 127 but varies according to the economic condition of the parties.

In death too, the communal dinner is held on the fortieth day when the period of mourning ends. Other customs are the same.

Dhobis are a community in which, as noticed, *jama't* restrictions and organizations are exceptionally powerful. This appears to be mainly because of the fact that they have not given up their traditional occupation and there is a greater community of interests due to this fact. Moreover, lack of education, both secular and religious, has kept the community wedded to its traditions and that is why customs like communal dinners and ostentatious celebrations with music, which are on the wane among other communities, are observed by them.

Yet, there appears to be a reaction coming in; one of our informants expressed strong disapproval of these 'out-dated' customs, including the system of *pir-muridi*. Their religious fervour—many of them attend the different *wa'izes*, given in mosques—exposes them to the influence of the various *maulwis* of varying sects and malcontents and the younger men learn from them.

As a community, the Dhobis generally range from the well-off to the poor. In booming towns, they earn a more than fair livelihood and even in smaller ones, it is usually difficult to find an indigent Dhobi. Formerly, they were heavy drinkers but thanks to prohibition, this vice has decreased, though illicit

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distillers are said to be found among them.

In dress and food, the Dhobis are in no way different from the service Muslims of lower middle class. They dress in shirt, pyjama and coat with either a cap or a turban and prefer non-vegetarian food whenever they can manage it. The majority of the Dhobi women however dress in sari but a few of them wear the *shalwar*, *kurta* and *dopatta*.

Dhuldhoyas

Dhuldhoyas are a craftsman community which has its strongholds in Baroda and Sabarkantha districts. Their traditional occupation was that of goldsmith. The word *dhuldhoya* means a washer of earth (in the meaning of soil and dirt); this name is said to have been ascribed to this community because they collected the earth, sifted and cleaned it and from it extracted gold and silver.

Formerly, this community appears to have been more prosperous, for their *mohalla* has both a mosque and a *musafirkhana*; the former is still known as Dhuldhoya-wada-ni masjid but the latter has fallen into disrepair.

The Dhuldhoyas are organized in a *jama't* and marriages take place within their community only. Marriages are celebrated simply and the *mehr* fixed at Rs. 251. The *nikah* is read by the *maulwi* and the only gifts which have to be made to the bridegroom are a *thali* and a *lota* (eating utensils). Whatever additional gifts one can give are to be given, but not under compulsion. Divorces are not permitted but widow remarriage is.

The Dhuldhoyas claim originally to have come from Multan and to have learnt Urdu after having come to Gujarat. Their Urdu is relatively less mixed with Gujarati words and they say that when they speak amongst themselves, they also use Punjabi words. They are also to be found outside Gujarat; in Delhi and Jaipur, the people from their community are known as Nisargir and in Surat as Zara.

In Baroda, there is a locality known as Dhuldhoyawada which is still inhabited by the Dhuldhoyas.

Dudhwala

The Dudhwala is a community which is indigenous to Baroda only. Their name signifies a milkman but as a community they were and continue to be the drivers of *ghodagadis* (coachmen). It is said that while the menfolk took to this profession, the women traded in milk and hence they got the name of Dudhwala.

As it is, the Dudhwalas were the coachmen of *ghodagadis* mostly for hire, for which Baroda was well-known twenty-five to fifty years ago. Even now, these carriages continue to be peculiarly shaped, a shape which is known only in nearby towns and the towns of the former Baroda State. It is a square structure with two benches above the wheels with both the front and back sides enclosed. On these well-padded benches, cushions, formerly gaily

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coloured, now mostly white, are placed.

The Dudhwalas in Baroda nearly monopolized this service and catering to the aristocracy of the former Baroda State; they were usually well-dressed and well-versed in nearly all the languages spoken in the State—Gujarati, Marathi and also Urdu. They kept their vehicles spick and span and their horses were usually of a superior variety. They dressed themselves in white shirt and pyjama with a turban on the head: the horse almost always had a *kalangi* (decorated peaked adornment on head).

The advent of the autorickshaw and the taxi has virtually ended the age of the *ghodagadis* and only a fraction of these vehicles remain. As a result, the Dudhwalas have taken to driving autorickshaws and taxis, mostly the former.

A number have also taken to other professions. The Dudhwalas on the whole are a well-educated community. Their children go to schools and there are a number of matriculates, graduates and other highly educated persons among them. Among them, there are school teachers and clerks in certain services. A few have opened cloth shops also.

The Dudhwalas have *jama'tbandi*, the headman being known as *patel*. A kind of council consisting of sixteen members is also elected from the four mohallas in which the Dudhwalas have settled. The *patel* looks to the management of communal affairs and is especially called on the occasions of marriage and death when he supervises the necessary arrangements. Marriages, as a rule, take place within the community only, giving or bringing girls from outside being frowned upon.

Marriages were formerly consummated in childhood but this is now given up. Communal dinners were insisted upon formerly on the principal occasions like *khatnah*, *bism-i'llah*, marriage and death but this is no longer true. Most of the customs are now according to the usual Muslim pattern. The *mehr* is usually from Rs. 125 to Rs. 500 according to the status of the parties.

Religious awareness is on the rise among the Dudhwalas. Formerly, only a few had knowledge regarding their religious obligations; further as we were told, a number of Hindu customs were prevalent; these have now been given up. They have a religious madrasah where the children receive religious education; they have also a number of *hafizes* among them. Usually, they are punctilious in the discharge of their religious duties and there have been a number of *hajis* among them.

The Dudhwalas have a locality of their own where they have this madrasah, in Baroda. They do not have a mosque but they have a graveyard; they however, bury their dead in other graveyards too.

The Dudhwalas have a great faith in the *pir-muridi* system. Most of them are the *murids* of Syed Hisam-u'd-din of the Refai family of Baroda but many of them in recent years have gone to others too.

In dress and food, the Dudhwalas are not noticeably different from other Muslims. Their women till recently dressed in the Hindu fashion but now

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virtually all of them have taken to the Islamic garb—the pyjama, *kurta* and *dopatta*.

GANDHARP

The word Gandharp derives from the Hindu word *Gandharva* which means a divine race of singers. Gandharps therefore were originally musicians who were cultivators but during the off-seasons performed in public in all parts of Gujarat.

The Gandharps have now virtually given up this profession and taken to other occupations like petty trades and service. In Ahmedabad and Baroda they go to mills. In villages, many of them are agriculturists. Their original home is Balasinor in north-west Gujarat where they are still in large numbers; but they have spread over other parts as well.

The Gandharps have the *jama'tbandi* system and prefer to marry amongst themselves. But no penalty is attached to marrying outside. Their girls have been given to Sindhi Muslims but it does not appear that they have chosen girls outside their community.

Formerly, it appears that the custom of bride-price obtained among them and probably it does so still, in many places. But it was denied. All the principal ceremonies are performed with processions and due celebrations. Communal feasts, though not absolutely obligatory, are given now, according to the economic condition of the person. In birth, the customs of *satwansa* and *navmansa* have been given up of late.

Religious and other education is still not widespread among them. In Balasinor, they have their own mosque and *jama'tkhana* but not in other places. In Baroda, for religious education, a few of their children went to a general madrasah. A few of them also went to schools of which only one had passed the High School examination and was reported to be studying Science.

The Gandharps speak Gujarati but some of them know and speak Urdu as well—an Urdu well-mixed with Gujarati words.

The dress of the Gandharps was formerly Hindu in as much as most of them wore the *dhoti*; so also for their women. Many of them do so even now but this is on the decline, being replaced by the more common garb of shirt and pyjama. Women too are increasingly taking to the pyjama, *kurta* and *dopatta*.

Economically, the Gandharps are on the whole poor and belong to the service community. Only in villages where they have land, they have been cultivators; in towns, they have taken to miscellaneous occupations.

Like other Muslims, the Gandharps have faith in *pir-muridi* system and are mostly the *murids* of one or the other *pirs*.

GHANCHIS

As the name signifies, Ghanchis are oil-pressers, most of them from the parallel Hindu caste. They are distributed nearly over the whole of Gujarat.

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The Ghanchis are known by their names too. In north Gujarat, they are also called Ghanchi-Vohras, the word Vohra meaning, as in other Vohra communities, an indigenous Muslim. In places, like Idar and Chhota Udepur, they have taken the name of Mansuris, claiming that they were originally the followers of Mansur but because they took to this profession, they came to be called Ghanchis.

The Ghanchis have the *jama'tbandi* system; this is organized townwise, but the individual *jama't* in different towns have very few mutual contacts. In towns, where Ghanchis belonging to different places come together, the place of origin plays a part in the identification of different branches. It is also not common to find two branches inter-marrying though this cannot be forbidden. In three different places, we found self-contained *jama'ts* which limited themselves to people of particular areas only, all specifying that marriages took place within their *jama't* only.

In Kalol, north Gujarat, the Ghanchi community is known by the name of Ghanchi-Vohras: here it has about fifty households, all hailing from near Viramgam.

The *jama'tbandi* system is strictly observed and defaulters are fined. Every household contributes Rs. 3 per annum to the *jama't* fund and an executive committee of eleven members, elected annually manages the affairs according to the constitution. This *jama't* concerns itself not only with ritualistic aspects of social life but also makes effort to improve the economic and educational status of the community besides attempting to reform what it feels to be undesirable customs. It runs a high school and has a fund which advances loans to members for trade.

Owing to the efforts of this organization, a number of former ceremonies have been given up or simplified; expenditure which was formerly heavy was drastically curtailed. The pattern is generally the same as among other Muslims. During *khatmah*, the women folk were wont to indulge in singing and dancing amongst themselves.

Among them, *aqiqa* is not done.

Formerly, talks regarding engagement were finalized with gifts of sugar but this has now been stopped. The marriage ceremony is gone through with simplicity; *mehr* is fixed at Rs. 44. Dowry is given but is not compulsory.

The Ghanchi-Vohras speak Gujarati but their way of speaking is distinct from that of other Gujaratis, resembling in some ways, the pronunciation and intonations of Da'udi-Bohras. Religious education to children is sufficient to give them an idea of their religious duties but they are not trained to become *maulvis* or *hafizes*. They go to schools and there is a fairly high degree of literacy among them. Their girls too go to school and nearly half of their women folk are literate.

The Ghanchi-Vohras were formerly oil-pressers and many of them continue in their traditional occupations. A great number of them have also taken up retail trade and opened grocery shops. Some are also in service. On the

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whole, they form a fairly prosperous and forward-looking community.

Generally, they prefer to live together if they are in sufficient number; otherwise, their houses are scattered.

The men dress as other Muslims do, in shirt, pyjama and coat or shirt and trousers. The women dress in saris worn in Gujarati style. Not many have taken to the *shalwar* and *kurta* common in other Muslim communities.

An effort to rise in the social scale is apparent in the same community in Chhota Udepur, where the name of Mansuri has been adopted. Most of these families come from Godhra which is the home town of most of the Ghanchis.

Marriage is limited to the community only and the *mehr* is again according to the economic standing of the people. Religious education appears to be greater, for a few of them are *maulwis* and *hafizes*. Education is greater, for there are some matriculates. The community is largely a business one with some taking private service.

One informant claimed Urdu to be his mother tongue but this was certainly not correct, for generally, as the talk showed, his mother tongue was Gujarati. However, it is an indication of the fact that there is an effort at greater Islamization and also a desire to adopt Urdu as the mother tongue.

The same name of Mansuri has been adopted by the Ghanchis in Idar. The community, which is a part of the larger one, has now become independent. These Mansuris inhabit north and north-west Gujarat, and though many of them continue in the traditional occupation of oil-pressing, many have taken to other trades.

The Mansuris of Idar have *jama'tbandi* and a sort of constitution which is followed by all. Marriage is limited to the community and the *mehr* is fixed at Rs. 44 but varies according to the status of the parties. They have their own mosque and a graveyard which contains an old *mazar* where an *urs* is held every year. Both men and women dress according to the usual Muslim style.

The Ghanchis inhabiting Saurashtra form a distinct community which does not intermarry with others. In Baroda they have a few households and they are scattered over other towns as well.

Among them also *jama'tbandi* exists, and marriages take place within the community only. A minimum is prescribed for being given as gift and *mehr* in marriage; and the girl's father is given Rs. 150 by the *jama't* for giving three dinners to the visiting party. If the person is wealthy, he returns this, but he has to give the required feasts.

The Sorathia Ghanchis are mostly *murids* of Shah Ghora of Lathi. In Saurashtra, where they are in larger numbers, they have madrasahs for giving the child, a basic knowledge of their faith. They claim to have many *hajis* and *hafizes* among them; generally, they are particular about discharging

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their religious obligations.

These Ghanchis speak Gujarati with a marked Saurashtra accent; they also understand Hindi and Urdu but do not speak it well. In towns where they have migrated, they have taken to trades like small shop-keeping, grain-grinding *ghantis* or mills, repairing oil stoves and lamps and such other small trades. On the whole, they are not badly off.

Formerly, the Sorathia Ghanchis dressed like other Saurashtra agriculturists; their women are well dressed in the picturesque Saurashtra fashion. But among emigrants like those in Baroda both men and women dress like other Muslims.

And finally, an item of information which we were particularly asked to note, and which may gladden the Prohibitionists: none in their community ever drinks and if any one does so, nobody would consent to give his daughter to him !

In Kacchh also Ghanchis, as a separate community, are to be found. They informed us that more of their people were to be found in Sind and they claimed to know Sindhi as well.

Kacchhi Ghanchis have *jama'tbandi* with a *patel* selected by a general consensus of opinion. The *patel* officiates at marriage and death. Marriages take place within the community only and the marriage ceremony is conducted without a great deal of expenditure.

The Ghanchis have their own mosque and madrasah in Bhuj. Their children go to these madrasahs and also to schools. Their mother tongue is Kacchhi but they also understand and speak Hindi and Gujarati.

In Kacchh, the Ghanchis have by and large continued their traditional occupation of oil-pressing; only a few have taken to other trades like opening small shops. They live together in the same locality. Their dresses have the distinctive Kacchhi pattern about it, especially in the *safa* though their other garments are usual—the shirt and the *izar* or pyjama.

The Ghanchi community is in fact not one but several communities, divided by distance. In mainland Gujarat, Godhra is their biggest centre but they are to be found in most towns.

As a community, it is in the throes of Islamization. The more isolated an area is, the greater do we find the retention of traditional customs and nomenclature—and a lesser tendency to explain away their name as is found in other areas. This, however, is not always true for, in the Ghanchi Vohras of Kalol, we found little tendency to do away with their traditional names and culture-patterns, except in the desire to reform or remove what they felt to be expensive and un-Islamic rites.

HAJAM

The Hajams are a service community which are diffused in most of the towns of Gujarat. According to the information we received in Baroda, the *jama't* to which the Hajams of Baroda belong, is spread over in Bharuch, Padra,

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Jambusar, Chanchwali, Amod, Kothwara, Godhra, Samni, Dabhoi, Sinor, Lunawada, Anklesar, Anand, Kheda and a number of smaller towns of central and southern Gujarat. It is to be noted that towns of north Gujarat did not figure in this list.

The Hajams have *jama'tbandi*, with a *patel* and four advisers at the head; the *patel* officiates and supervises major functions like marriages and death. Marriage takes place within the community only. Community dinners formerly compulsory on major occasions, have of late become optional.

The Hajams observe all Muslim festivals, in common with other Muslims. In Muharram, they prepare *taziahs* and fast on the 9th and 10th days; during Rajab, mosque are lighted. They have also the Muslim ceremonies like those accompanying birth, marriage and death. There is no dislike of music and a little festivity during marriage; this is left to the individual and his means. The *mehr* is usually fixed at Rs. 127 but this can vary.

The Hajams spoke of Urdu being their mother tongue but it appeared that they were more comfortable in Gujarati. No doubt, service with the more advanced and richer Muslim communities has given them a facility in the Urdu language and most of them spoke it with fluency; and as it is possible that they came from the north, they have this language in their homes, at least a patois of it. They also understand Hindi and of course speak Gujarati with fluency.

The traditional profession of the Hajams has been one of personal service. Not only were they barbers but also masseurs, bleeders and surgeons of the past. Fazlullah Luttullah speaks of a section of the Hajams, the Jokhari Hajams, who kept leeches (BG IX/II 84-5) but we did not come across them; possibly, with the development of the modern medical facilities, this class has disappeared.

In addition, Muslim Hajams perform the *khatnah* ceremony but for this, only those versed in this operation, are called. Their women very frequently act as midwives and attend on the mother for the few days following child birth. Formerly, during free hours they spun cloth; now those who can, undertake needlework.

The Hajams in Gujarat, as elsewhere have a reputation of being what Malabari called " spendthrift of the tongue ". They continue to have a reputation for wit and sharp dealing though the form of their profession has changed, owing to the great alteration in the classes which formerly patronized them.

Education among the Hajams is increasing and many of them are literate and have taken to teaching. Many of them serve in the mills. On the whole, they are not badly off—better off than the other service communities.

Kharwa

The Kharwa is a community of boatmen, found around the major rivers in central and south Gujarat and on the sea coast. It is divided into two wings, Hindu and Muslim—the former claim Koli and Rajput origin (BG IX/II 519).

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The Muslim Kharwas claim that they originally came from Arabia and brought Habshi slaves with them; their original name was *Nakhuda*, which means a ship-owner or a captain. Many of them still retain the surname *Nakhuda*. They first arrived at Gandhar near Bharuch; and one of their forbears, Ibrahim Nakhuda, they claim, took Ibn Battutah from Gujarat to Malabar.

The term *Nakhuda* has been used for a Muslim shipowner in an inscription of the twelfth century, found in Somnath Patan, as noticed earlier. It is undoubtedly true that Muslim seamen, mostly from Arabia and Persia, had considerable settlements in Gujarat. Gandhar is possibly a mistake for Ghogha, the port from which Ibn Battutah took ship for Malabar. Hence, the claim of the Muslim Kharwas that they are the descendants of these former sea-farers can be said to have a substantial historical foundation.

As an additional proof of this history, the Kharwas claim that till about four to five generations ago, a Habshi maid always accompanied a Kharwa bride.

The Kharwas of Bharuch have however no links with Kharwas in other parts of Gujarat. They know that there are Kharwa settlements in Surat, Khambhat and Saurashtra, but they have virtually lost all contact with them. This is true of Kharwa community elsewhere too.

Since the early Nakhuda arrivals settled near the Hindu Kharwas and followed the same trade, they came to be known as the Kharwas. Most of their customs have now become the same as other Muslims'. Talks for marriage are invited from the boy's side and finalized by mutual exchange of gifts. Both sides give gifts to the bride; the boy's side before and the girl's parents, when she is leaving. Among these, ornaments—one of gold and the other of silver —from either side are insisted upon. *Mehr* is generally fixed at Rs. 127.

The Kharwa have no restrictions on marriages, outside their community and they marry in their corresponding communities, a criterion mostly determined by the economic status of the parties concerned. Formerly, they had *jama't-bandi*, called the 'Muslim Kharwa Jama't'; the *mukhi* (head) of this was called the *patel*. Of late, this organization has been allowed to lapse and the *patel* has not been elected.

Most Muslim festivals are observed; on the 9th and 10th days of Muharram, fasts are kept. In Bharuch, they have two mosques in their *mohalla* and a graveyard near the Idgah; but it would be wrong to say that they are, especially the latter, used by them only. They claim to have a *jama'tkhana* too but that is now no more.

The Kharwas speak Gujarati, a fact which they ascribe to long residence in Gujarat, and intermarriage with the people there. They, however, understand Hindi and Urdu. Religious education appears to be fairly limited among them though their children go to Gujarati schools; some have also passed through the high school. A few girls have lately been going to schools and sewing classes.

As Arabs, at least formerly, the Kharwas follow the Refai family and are

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murids of theirs. This is fairly common among them.

The Kharwas have been traditionally boatmen and there is no doubt that up to the seventeenth century, they plied the high seas. Lately, since the decay of Indian shipping, they ply the heavy boats which carry the riverine and coastal trade of Gujarat. Primarily, they are boatmen and sailors and not fishermen. Of late, many have taken to other professions like repairing machines and painting; some are contractors.

The Kharwas dress like other Muslims. Till forty years ago the dress of the women was the sari, like other Gujarati women's, but now it is the usual Muslim dress of *kurta*, pyjama and *dopatta*.

The Kharwas appear to have a consciousness of their origin. It is noticeable however that they have allowed the *jamat'bandi* to drop and have preferred to intermarry with other communities. This fact is explained by their tradition of intermarriage from earliest times with local people when a few of them only had come to India.

KHATRI

The Khatris form the trading community residing in the central and northern districts of Gujarat. It is largely concentrated in Baroda and its taluqas, Dabhoi, Sankheda and Jabugam.

As a community, the Khatris are primarily traders and particularly traders in cloth; they have other shops also e.g. dealing in spectacles. They also have flour-grinding mills and grain-shops; they work as painters and tailors too. As a middle-class educated community, they have also entered government and other services, as teachers and subordinate civil servants. Some of them are also lawyers.

The Khatris have *jama'tbandi* and a *jama't* fund from which a house has been purchased in Bodeli from which help is given to deserving Khatri students in schools and colleges. Being largely an educated community, they have an enlightened concept of community organization and ceremonies. Many of the customs which they felt to be unwholesome are being done away with; for instance, music during marriage has been virtually banned and the *mehr* limited to Rs. 127. Communal dinners have been made optional depending on a person's resources.

Marriages take place within the community only. Mutual gifts on these occasions have generally been regulated and fixed. This is also true of other occasions like *khatmah*, *aqiqa* and *bism-i'llah*, which are celebrated according to usual Muslim fashion.

The Khatris speak Gujarati but follow Urdu and Hindi also.

Khatri men dress in shirt or *kurta* and pyjama with cap. Many women wear the sari like other Gujarati women and some have taken to *kurta*, pyjama and *dopatta*. Generally, there appears to be no insistence on the uniform adoption of the latter.

Children are given religious education in Urdu but this is mainly designed

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to give them the basic knowledge of religious obligations; there has not been any *hafiz* or *maulwi* among them. As a community, Khatris are careful about the discharge of their religious duties; they observe fasts and many are *hajis*.

Khatris are on the whole a prosperous trading community which attempts to mould its social structure according to the times. Knowledge about their origin is not available. It is possible that they have some kinship with the Hindu Khatris of south Punjab, notable trading community in the north; the Tanks, the community to which the Sultans of Gujarat belonged, was an off-shoot from them. But this is highly conjectural.

Maliks

The Maliks are an agrarian community distributed in most of the districts in the mainland of Gujarat. In towns, they have taken to miscellaneous urban occupations like labour, small shop-keeping and the like. In villages, they usually own small pieces of land which they cultivate.

The Maliks claim to have descended from soldiers who came with the Muslim invaders from the North and ascribe their communal appellation to the distinction earned by their forbears in the field of battle. It is true that under the Muslim rulers Malik was an order of nobility next to the highest, the Khan; but this claim, as far as this community is concerned, is not convincing.

The Maliks therefore claim distinction as the descendants of the former nobility; secondly, their names are distinguished by the suffix of *din*.

The Maliks are organized in *jama'ts* and its rules are strictly observed. In Borsad, they have strong influence in an organization which controls most of the communal activities. This body runs the religious madrasahs and maintains the mosque and graveyard, paying for the *mullah* and the *muezzin*.

The Maliks prefer to marry among near relatives, the girl being given outside only if a suitable bridegroom is not available among them. Both the maternal and the paternal branches are treated on a par in this matter. Marriage talks are always initiated by the bridegroom's people by sending a *paigam* to the bride's people; this is confirmed usually by a gift of Rs. 5 from the former to the latter.

Subsequently, gifts of eatables are sent to each other by both parties. On the appointed day, the bridegroom proceeds in a procession to the bride's place. Differences have arisen in Borsad regarding the use of musical instruments in this procession. Those who believe in the use of such instruments, contrary to religious precepts, do not go to such functions. It is reported that formerly the drum was beaten for seven to fifteen days but in recent days, this noisy practice has greatly declined, no doubt to the great relief of the neighbours.

Usually the *nikah* is read by the *maulwi* belonging to the local mosque. The *mehr* is usually fixed at Rs. 125 but varies according to the economic status of the parties. Formerly, a part of the dowry was taken in cash but now this is given up; but the bride's people still are expected to give household goods, like bedsteads, bedspreads and utensils, to the newly-married couple, in addi-

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tion to the ornaments taken by the bride.

After the *nikah*, the bridegroom's party is treated to light refreshments and then they return to their place taking the bride with them. During the marriage, the bride is dressed up and her feet and hands are profusely coloured by *henna; haldi* is usually applied to the bridegroom too. The night preceding the *nikah* is also one during which the women observe an all-night vigil in the bridegroom's place. On the next day is the feast when the bridegroom's party is treated to an elaborate feast; only the bride's father and near relatives have their food sent to them separately for they are said not to eat in these parties.

The age of marriage for boys is usually seventeen to twenty-two, for girls it is fourteen to sixteen.

The birth of the first child almost always takes place at the bride's place. At birth, the *kalmah* is read into the new-born infant's ear. Small presents are received from near relatives. The sixth day is the *Chhatthi* when the mother and the child are given a bath; offerings of rice, wheat or other cereals are made by visitors. Formerly, drums were beaten on this occasion but now this practice has been declining.

Death is followed by the ceremonial bath given to the dead body when the *namaz* is read and the dead body interred with due Muslim observances. From the time of the death to that of the *ziyarat* (taking the dead body to the grave-yard), no food is cooked in the house but is received from relatives and friends.

After the interment of the dead body, flowers and sheet of cloth are put on the grave. On returning home, food is prepared which is shared by those who had accompanied the *ziyarat*. The clothes and personal effects of the deceased are distributed to the poor. They are collected on the night of the death and distributed in the morning when the *dohar* takes place.

Mourning is observed for four-and-a-half months, after which the ceremony of 'breaking the *sog*' (mourning) takes place.

When the child is five years old, the ceremonies of *bism-i'llah* and *khatnah* are gone through. The child is taken in a small procession to the tomb or mausoleum of the local patron saint (Shah Syed Sa'dul-lah Pir in Borsad), wearing new clothes and a *sehra*. Formerly, it was preceded by music but now this is done only by a few. At the mausoleum, the *majawir* makes the child speak and read *bism-i'llah*, thus initiating him into religious learning. Flowers and *laddus* are distributed on the conclusion of this ceremony.

Then the people return to the platform of the local mosque where the relatives give small amounts as the *salami* of the child.

On the same night, the *khatnah* (circumcision) takes place. Those who favour music, have drums beaten on this occasion; others do not. Women folk observe it by assembling and singing in the child's home.

The Maliks speak Urdu at home but it is highly mixed with Gujarati words and their pronunciation is not very pure; for instance, the Persian 'z' is generally pronounced as 'j'. Names are thus altered differently; Zahidah becomes Jaheda or Jadu. While respect is given to elders, the Urdu honorific

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appellations were reported to be less used. In writing and other communications, Gujarati mixed with Urdu words is used.

Elementary religious education is given to the children in the local madrasahs; those who intend to take to religious life as teachers, and *mullahs*, go to advanced religious schools in Anand, Nadiad and Rander. In towns a growing number of children go to secular schools for their education, in addition to the religious instruction.

The Maliks appear on the whole to be poor and educationally backward; some of them are well to do and a few comparatively wealthy. Education is now spreading and awareness of modern conditions has brought a greater consciousness of their Islamic heritage. They are therefore influenced by movements like the Wahabi and Razakhani which are currently being propagated in Gujarat. They listen to the *wa'iz* of the *maulwis* and other learned men who come down to them occasionally.

Among Muslims, their associations are mostly with the Syeds, Pathans, Behlims and Sunni Vohras; with others their relations are on the whole cordial. With Muslims, their greeting is expressed in the usual formulae of *salam alaikum*, holding hands which is replied to by *wa-a'l-aikum salam*. To non-Muslims, it is the Gujarati gretting *sahibji* as it is commonly exchanged.

As a community, the Maliks are in the process of change. This is expressed by their greater awareness of rites and customs which are felt to be costly, ostentations and against the basic simplicity of Islam and which therefore deserve to be discarded. Music is one such instance. Another is the greater emphasis placed upon the Urdu language and its adoption in more aspects of life. Finally, they feel that children should also receive a minimum of religious education and a few should also proceed to higher education in this direction, thus serving the community.

LUHAR

In Baroda and adjoining areas, there are two communities of blacksmiths, both coming from the north. One call themselves only Luhars; in Baroda, they have two households; the others, Sarania or Sarang, have about fifteen to sixteen house holds.

In both cases, while there is commensality with all Muslims, marriage takes place within the community only. Since there is only a limited number of families here, they have to go to Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan for these. Engagement is confirmed by small presents from the bridegroom's side to the bride's depending on the financial condition of the parents. Among the Luhars, a community dinner is a must, both at the bride's and the bridegroom's place. The bridegroom's party proceeds in a marriage party to the bride's and it is customary for them to stay there for two days.

Occupationally, the Luhars have taken to the workshops and iron foundries which have been opening recently. The children are given elementary religious education and also sent to ordinary schools. Some of the young men

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have passed the High School examination also.

The Luhars are very few in Baroda and Gujarat to form a distinct community. They are immigrants who have by and large retained their kinship and other connexions outside this area.

MANSURI-TANTGARA

This is one of those instances where two separate communities have come together to form a single unit. The Mansuris have about a hundred households in Baroda and the Tantgaras, nearly twenty-five. The Mansuris were cotton-threshers and the Tantgaras prepared the guts, used in their threshing apparatus. This necessity brought the two together; beginning with commensality, it extended to inter-marriages and then the community came to be known by the joint name of Mansuri-Tantgara *jama't*.

With this, reformed customs have been introduced. *Mehr* has been fixed at Rs. 127.50 out of which Rs. 112.50 is handed over to the bride. The marriage party proceeds in a procession to the bride's place but music has been banned. *Jama'tbandi* is fairly strong and the marriage is performed in the presence of the *panch* and any infraction of the regulations is liable to be punished with a fine.

The Mansuri-Tantgaras have a mosque of their own and a graveyard too but like every mosque it is open to all Sunni Muslims. They celebrate festivals like other Sunni Muslims and a number of them are the disciples of the Refai family. The children are given elementary religious education in local madrasahs and some young men are *hafizes*, i.e. those who can repeat the *Qur'an* by heart.

Educationally, this is a progressive community as many young men have gone to schools and colleges and a few have become graduates.

The well-to-do section of the community is mainly a trading one, running small hotels, cycle and other shops. The poorer ones are milk vendors, mill workers and also engaged in the traditional calling of gut-making. They speak Gujarati with an admixture of Urdu words.

The flexibility of the caste pattern in the craftsman sections of the Muslim social order is indicated by this joint community. Like many other communities, this too is a local community, mainly centered around Baroda.

Another community known as the Mansuri is found in the eastern part of the Baroda district, in Malpur, Bahadurpur, Nandot and Vaghodia. They are aware of branches of their community settled in Baroda and Bharuch but as their marriage *ekra* is limited only to their immediate settlements, they have no marriage connexions with them.

This community is mainly a labour community, specializing in house-building masonry work. They declare that formerly, they alone were able to do this work but subsequently, they taught it to others, as well. They are the followers of the Pir Saiyid Ali Miyan of Batwa, a Bukhari Syed.

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MARWADI (NORTH GUJARAT)

There are two separate communities known by this name, both immigrants from Rajasthan. One is settled in north Gujarat, Siddhpur and Ahmedabad and the other in Baroda.

The first community is also referred to as the Jhalari Jama't after Jhalor, their original place. They have about two hundred households in Ahmedabad and nearly ninety in Sidhpore. The headquarters of the *jama't* are in Sidhpore. The *jama'tbandi* is strictly followed and so is endogamy; if anyone marries his daughter outside the *jama't*, he is forthwith expelled. This punishment is specially designed to make it possible for a poor Marwadi to have a bride for his son or a bridegroom for his daughter within the community.

Many of the customs which are becoming obsolete in other communities are retained by the Marwadis. *Satwansa* is observed and the first child is invariably born in the girl's parental home. *Khatnah* was formerly celebrated with a communal feast and beating the *dhol*, which for the last few years has become infrequent. But in marriage, the engagement is still marked by the use of *pithi*, turmeric mixed with flour, and the sprinkling of colour. Formerly, two seers of *gur* per person was distributed over the whole community but this has now been given up; only the immediate relations are now given the *gur*.

The Rajasthani influence was marked during marriage by the custom of *kusumba* being shared, but now this has been given up due to prohibition. *Kusumba* means opium paste which used to be ritually partaken by the Rajputs. This was partaken by the entire *jama't* on the occasion of the bridegroom's party's visit to the bride's place; now only the visiting *barat* party is fed and a fixed amount handed over to the *jama't*.

Marriage had and still Rajasthani customs. The bridegroom was accoutred with the sword and with it he touched the leaf-girt *mandap* before he entered it. He was welcomed by his mother-in-law or any other elderly lady in the manner in which the Rajputs were welcomed, namely, by a *thali* (plate), containing some *sindur* or vermilion and a *diya* (light), being waved before him and a *tilak* mark being placed on his forehead. Now this has gone out of fashion. Still the procession with music and band has not been banned.

Next day, after the *nikah*, festivities take place though not on the same scale as before. The bridegroom was called to the bride's place where the bride and bridegroom were made to sit facing each other and strike each other with flower-sticks. Then a ring was dropped in a cup of water and both tried to take it first. The bridegroom's footwear was hidden and he was hard put to get it back. Now, we were told that this has been to a great extent done away with.

The *mehr* is fixed at Rs. 125. *Jahez* or dowry is given 'according to means'. Cash dowry was also paid formerly but is now rare.

Formerly, death was marked by another Rajasthani custom. Boiled wheat and *chapatis* were carried to the graveyard with the coffin and *kusumba* was

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prepared and partaken there. The coffin alone required about forty to fifty yards of cloth. Now *kusumba* is no longer possible and the amount of cloth required has been cut down to fifteen yards.

Pir-muridi is common among the Marwadis and the bulk of them are the *murids* of the Refai family of Baroda.

Mainly, the Marwadis or the Jhalari Jam'at is an urban community, engaged mainly in labour and small trade. A few have prospered in trade and education is increasing. Their language is an Urduized form of Gujarati, namely a language that is mainly Gujarati but with Urdu words and inflexions. In writing and reading, they use the Gujarati script alone. Elementary religious instruction is given to children in the madrasahs to which they are generally sent.

Marwadi (Baroda)

This community is also known as the Ansari as has been noticed earlier but in Baroda mostly as Marwadis. According to some of the more-knowing, their community is of Arabic origin which migrated to India with Muhammad bin Qasim during his invasion of Sind. In the nineteenth century, they came to Baroda.

In Baroda, they came as masons for the construction of state buildings like the Palace, Nyaya Mandir and Khanderao Market from their native places in Rajasthan. Now a number of them are engaged in nickel-plating eating utensils. Some of them having had education, have also become teachers and clerks.

During the recent years, the dress of Marwadis has changed from the traditional Rajasthani pattern to that of the average Gujarati Muslim. Older people even now wear the *dhoti* and the heavy turban. Yellow colour is preferred by women for their dresses and the turbans of the men folk are also red or yellow. During the marriage ceremonies, the use of turmeric paste is frequent. Also common is the customary singing of the women folk to the accompaniment of the *dhol* (tom-tom). Both these practices reveal the hold of tradition on them though the change is coming over. One of the things they particularly made a point of was that they detest the acceptance of any money for their girls. The *mehr* ranges from Rs. 30 to Rs. 500. Dowry is not usually given.

As a community they are the followers of the Nagore Syeds, Syed Mohiu'd-din. Their language is now Gujarati with a very heavy tinge of Urdu and Rajasthani words. They have an elementary form of *jama'thandi* with *panches* who decide on matters of communal concern. These are elected from time to time. (See also *supra* pp. 80-1).

Momins or Momnas

Momins, popularly called Momnas, are a cultivating community found all over north Gujarat, especially in the Banaskantha and Mehsana districts.

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Their legends ascribe their conversion to Islam to Pir Kabir-u'd-din, the sixteenth century Nizari missionary. Since then he, and in a wider context, his numerous descendants have been accepted as *pirs* by the Momnas. In fact, the descendants of the *pirs* have actually 'divided' their jurisdiction among their followers and Momnas are often distinguished as Imamshahi Momins, Mashaikhi Momins and by a few other appellations.

One of the important groups of these Momins is that of the Mashaikhi Momins, the followers of the eighteenth century Isma'ili preacher, the descendant of Pir Kabir-u'd-din's brother, Pir Mashaikh, whose history has been given earlier. In recent years, a disaffection against their hereditary *pirs* has resulted insignificant schism being opened among the Mashaikhi Momins.

The first was the urge for Islamization which began with the Momins in Bombay. These reformists, under the influence of Deobandi preachers and also affected by the freedom form tradition which they found in Bombay, viewed with dismay the ignorance and backwardness of their *pirs*. More significantly, they inclined towards the Sunni faith while traditionally, the mission had been a Shi'a Isma'ili one. Efforts were made to prove that Pir Mashaikh was a Sunni while equally strenuous efforts were made by the *pir* to prove that he was a Shi'a and that some of his dubious statements had been made due to the necessity for *taqaiyya*, under the oppressive reign of Aurangzeb.

For a number of years a bitter struggle ranged within the community and even now, it is by no means over. The present *pir* is a convinced Shi'a and under his guidance, some of the works of Pir Mashaikh have been published. So also have they been issued under the auspices of the " reformist " organization.

At present, the Momins are divided into several sections. For the most part, they are traditionalists who still venerate their *pirs* and render the traditional dues to him. These followers have one or the other of the members of the family as their *pir*, though a greater number follow the lineal descendants of Pir Mashaikh. The second largest wing is that of Sunnis, mostly of Deobandi inclinations, under whose leadership a well-known religious madrasah has been functioning at Chhapi in north Gujarat. Significant numbers have also taken to the Ithna-A'shari form of Shi'ism. There are some who accept the Aga Khan and the Nizari Isma'ili Shi'a faith and are known as the Aga Khanis.

Those following the *Pir*—what may be called the orthodox—call themselves as Shi'a Ja'fari to distinguish themselves from Shi'a Isma'ili and Shi'a Ithna-'Ashari. This nomenclature is after Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth Shi'a *Imam;* and the *Pir Saheb*, who preferred this nomenclature calls himself a Ja'fari. The *Pir* annually visits every village where his followers are numerous and is treated with great deference by his followers. Festivities and especially *wa'izes* or sermons are held in which the followers are given religious discourses by the *pirs*. Every follower is expected to pay a tithe of approximately Rs. 2½ per year; the usual Isma'ili payment is the *dashondh* or the tenth of the total earnings but in this splinter community, this is no longer insisted upon.

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Every Momin village moreover has a religious organization centred around the Bacchanu. This is the symbol of the *Pir* in the village where a replica of the *pir's gadi* is maintained. Here also are conducted minor religious ceremonies peculiar to the community. On the tenth of every Muslim month, the *pavar*, equivalent to the Hindu *charanamrit*, is given as a *tabarruk* or offering to the followers. There is a basin of water touched by the *Pir* to which more water is added and over which the *Pir's* genealogy, in line from the Prophet to him, is recited and which is then reverentially partaken by the followers.

Other institutions found in larger villages are a mosque in which the *namaz* is offered in the " Shi'a Jafari way " and an *Imambada* where the *tabuts*, *tazias* of Muharram are brought to rest on the tenth day. A madrasah is also generally attached to the mosque in which the children receive elementary religious education, studying especially the *Tuhfat-u'l-Mominin*, a basic work written by the present *Hazar Pir* for the instruction of his followers and the *Tariqat*, a work of Pir Mashaikh.

These Momins are almost wholly an agrarian community among whom education, especially modern education, has not made much headway. Their dress is very much like the north Gujarat peasant's though the use of the pyjama is becoming more frequent. The more distinguishing feature is the beard which most of the men wear. The women wear dust-red petticoat like *ghagras*, very nearly indistinguishable from other women. Among women, the Muslim pattern of the pyjamas is now in vogue; the older women still wear the traditional *ghagra-odhni*.

Together with agriculture, they are weavers and almost every household has a hand-loom. Their language is Gujarati with the north Gujarat inflexion and they celebrate all Muslim festivals and in addition celebrate the 18th Zi'l-hujja as I'd-i-Ghadir and 24th as I'd-i-Mubahida. The 21st of Ramzan is also observed as the Shahadat, the day on which the grandsons of the Prophet were martyred.

The marriage ceremony is conducted by the *Mudarris* or the local religious preceptor according to Muslim rites. It probably contains overtones of the earlier faith which more field-work would reveal.

The reformist movement began, as mentioned earlier, with the Momins who migrated to Bombay in search of employment. Here they took mainly to victoria driving, the hackney horse carriages which, before the introduction of the taxis, were the main transport vehicles of Bombay. A number of them have now become taxi-drivers and are also engaged in other miscellaneous occupations.

The movement commenced in the last years of the second decade, about 1917-18 when a monthly magazine, *Momin-mitra*, was started attacking the *pirs* and their set-up and bewailing the ignorance of the community. The reformers were of the Sunni persuasion and it was said that some of the close

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relations of the then *Hazar Pir* were inclined that way. It was said that Sunnism was the accepted doctrine of the Pir Mashaikh and it was altered subsequently by his descendants who deliberately propagated the doctrines of the Shi'a Isma'ili persuasion in their own interests.

Intensive propaganda work in north Gujarat weaned away a considerable section of the Momins, especially those who had come to the towns, from their allegiance to the *Pir*. These doctrines were also affected by Deobandi teachers who preached a purer form of Islam, rejecting the *pir-muridi* system and the idolatrous veneration traditionally accorded to *pirs*, tombs and similar religious symbols. The madrasah at Chhapi, when established, became a centre of this movement.

Islamization is necessarily greater among these Momins and is reflected in their dresses, speeches and ideas. Every north Gujarat town especially Siddhpur and Palanpur have significant sections of these peoples who are conspicuous in their zeal for reform. Also, it is accompanied by a shift away from the traditional agrarian pattern of livelihood though, in recent years, the movement has begun to seep into rural areas as well. In towns, the reformed Momins have come to form the urban labour and lower middle class communities. Education, especially religious education, is of course, popular but secular education in ordinary schools is also becoming more common.

Another branch of the Momins consist of the followers of Imam Shah found in and around Ahmedabad. They call themselves as Pragati Satpanthi Momins in order to distinguish themselves from the non-Muslim followers of Imam Shah, who, in their terminology, are the ' Guptis ' or concealed. The doctrines of these Guptis, also called Imam Shahi Matias, merit a different treatment. In part, they have been treated in a paper by Ivanow, to which reference has been made earlier.

The Satpanthi Momins are the followers of Imam Shah and venerate his mausoleum at Pirana. They have *jama'thandi* but in recent years, internal quarrels have had a disastrous effect on it. Now, only an informal election of the *Patel* is made subject to general approval.

Momin customs retain heavy overtones of tradition. *Satwansa* is observed after which the would-be-mother leaves for her parental house. The birth is marked by a general dinner given by the girl's father. The sixth day ceremony is observed by some. Usually a girl on her first pregnancy stays for about a year at her parents' place.

Bism-i'llah is again the responsibility of the mother's parents and is marked by a general celebration, like a ' miniature marriage '. A procession is taken out and the child receives presents, more in the nature of presents made to the parents. *Khatnah* was formerly marked again by a general feast but this is becoming less common.

Marriage is preceded in Ahmedabad by a typical Ahmedabadi custom,

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navjoti. A small paper boat is fashioned and ceremonially handed over to a *fakir*. He then leads a procession to the river where it is ceremonially floated —symbolic of the desire to have a smooth sailing in the forthcoming marital life. Then a general dinner follows.

Colour was sprinkled formerly during the bridegroom's procession to the bride's place but this has now become rare. In well-to-do families, gold was given in dowry, with other presents like *suhagpuda*, which contains *sindur* or vermilion and such other articles, ritually associated with to married status. This is evidently a trait which is common both to Hindus and Muslims.

At the time of the *bida'* or the departure of the bride from her parental home, relations give presents to the newly-wedded pair. Formerly, the bridegroom was invited to dine at his father-in-law's place for the four Fridays following the marriage—a custom now becoming rare.

Among other Muslim rites on the occasion of death, it is usual to break the wife's bangles immediately following the death of the husband. The usual funerary ceremonies, the tenth-day, twentieth-day and the fortieth-day are observed.

The Satpanthis, both the 'Concealed' and 'the Open' keep their religious tenets more or less private to themselves and do not readily explain them to strangers. The mutual greeting between two Satpanthis is by the word 'Hejanda' which is explained as the declaration 'Hai Zindah', or 'Is Alive', a testimony to the continued presence of the *Imam*. Marriages are strictly within the community only. The strong in group feeling is also indicated by the fact that in Ahmedabad they are concentrated in a single locality named after them.

Religious education is popular though they do not have *maulvis* and *hafizes*. Secular education is fairly well advanced; we were told that nearly 80 per cent of the community is literate and there are many graduates as well. In Ahmedabad, the community is primarily engaged in trade and in villages, in agriculture. Economically, it is a fairly well-off middle class community.

The Momins claimed as their mother tongue Urdu tinged with Gujarati though they could read only Gujarati. It would be more correct to say that though they understand Urdu and speak it to some extent, their basic language is Gujarati which they try to embroider with Urdu words.

Morkash

The Morkash are one of those communities whose traditional craft has been killed with the impact of the machine age on India. They were originally manufacturers of paper; their name is derived from *morah* or the pulp which they grinded to prepare paper. They handed this paper to the Kagdis who then prepared note-books and other materials for sale. Now that this craft has been killed by the production of cheap machine made paper, most of them have become mill workers or opened small shops or taken to miscellaneous occupations.

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The Morkash claim that they are Syeds and came originally from Sind. Their numbers were formerly larger and they had a locality of their own; lately, these numbers have declined and Ahmedabad was said to have only seventeen households. This decline has led to the break-up of the *jama'tbandi* system and affected the endogamous pattern of marriage.

This has its effect on their customs too which are shedding off their traditional overtones. *Satwansa* was formerly observed with considerable show but has lately become simpler. The sixth-day is observed and the child is named on that day by the father's sister. These occasions are marked by feasts and presents to the daughter and her newborn child. The fortieth day, when the purificatory bath is taken, marks the end of the 'unclean' period.

Bism-il'llah is again marked by a general feast as in *khatnah*. The custom of *navjoti*, floating paper-boats, has gone out of fashion but the communal feast is common on the occasion of marriage. Traditional customs which continue are the use of colour during marriage; the women of the bridegroom's family ceremonially visit the bride carrying presents for her, generally four golden bangles, four sets of clothes and *suhagpuda* which invariably contains perfume.

A ritual bracelet tied to both the bridegroom and the bride's wrist marks the commencement of the marriage ceremonies. A coconut is also ritually broken and a sum of Rs. 1.25 given at the tomb of the patron *pir* before the bridegroom's party proceeds to the bride's reception. Other gifts too are more or less fixed; the brother-in-law receives Rs. 10 when he holds the reins of the bridegroom before he reaches the bride's place; so is the *haq* or claim of the bridegroom's sister when the bridegroom returns with the bride to his place. Both these customs indicate a relinquishment of a certain claim of the brother on his sister and of the sister on her brother, in favour of the conjugal partner.

Other traditional customs which have continued are the *tika* in which the mother-in-law welcomes the bridegroom to her house. Music has not been banned and the *dhol* commonly accompanies these ceremonies. On the fourth day after marriage, the *kangana* or the ritual bracelet is ceremonially untied.

Death is marked by the widow's bangles being broken and food uncooked for three days. The usual funerary ceremonies on the tenth day, after four-and-a-half months and one year are observed.

Being predominantly a labour community, the Morkash are poor. Children are sent to elementary madrasahs and more increasingly to schools; some have studied up to high school but none has yet gone to college. The Morkash speak a very diluted form of Urdu full of Gujarati words and inflexion; but those who can read, read Gujarati alone.

PATHAN

Pathans are one of those communities which has come and settled in Gujarat since the times of the Sultans of Delhi. Historical evidence suggests the existence of these cantonment colonies from the time of Muhammad bin Tughuluq,

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in the fourteenth century. Subsequently, under the rule of the Mughals, Afghan garrisons entered Gujarat in large numbers and established their centres.

The consequence has been the foundation of a number of Pathan villages in all parts of Gujarat. Indigenization has affected the Pathans, settled for generations here to the extent of making them indistinguishable from other Muslims; moreover, they have been divided into small territorial units within which alone do their marriages take place. There is virtually no link between the numerous Pathan areas in different parts of Gujarat; the Afghan *jama't* of Ahmedabad is not cognizant of the rural Pathans of Kaira and Bharuch districts.

An account of the two Pathan communities—the Sama Pathans of central Gujarat and the Babi Pathans of north Gujarat is given here.

Sama Pathans

The Sama Pathans trace their origin to the village Sama or Samra near Peshawar and they came to Gujarat as soldiers in the employ of the Nawabs of Khambhat (Cambay). From here, they went to Borsad and the nearby area mainly to afford protection to the Muslims there during the eighteenth century when Maratha terror was at its height. The Afghans were then led by their progenitor Musa Khan, who settled in Raja Phalia in Borsad and succeeded in warding off the Marathas. The Malek chief in gratitude gave his daughter to Musa Khan and his progeny came to be known as Sama Pathan.

In Borsad, there are about three to four hundred households of Sama Pathans, distinct from other Pathans. They have a fairly strong *jama'tbandi* with a strong in-group feeling. This *jama'tbandi* has also been used to ban customs which were felt as undesirable; for instance, marriages where music was played were boycotted. Expensive communal feasts, which were common before, have been curtailed though attendance is necessary on 'occasions of joy or sorrow', like marriage and death.

Marriage is mostly arranged among near relations. Cousin-marriages are the preferred ones, especially paternal parallel and maternal cross-cousin-marriages. Divorce and widow remarriage are virtually unknown. The Sama Pathans are aware of the anomaly of banning widow remarriage in an Islamic society. The ban they have imposed upon the widows signifies a fundamental break with tradition; but they are not yet prepared to say it is so. Their justification for the ban lies in the argument that their widows do not suffer from the disabilities and miseries endured by the Hindu widows; therefore, there is no immediate necessity for forcing this reform.

As stated above, the Sama Pathans claim that many of their former undesirable customs have been given up. These customs resembled those of other Muslims like *sirwansu* and the obligation on the girl's parents for bearing the expenses of the first child-birth. The last days of pregnancy were first heralded by the distribution of sweets, made of *methi*, in the community. This has now been banned as this kind of publicity of this fact is against the

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spirit of Islam for even the husband should not be aware of his wife's delicate condition. So also has the marriage ceremony been stripped of the use of turmeric and other elaborate customs. It may be doubted if the entire traditional pattern has been completely jettisoned but the tendency was too clear to be missed. Not only was Islamization a factor in bringing about this change but also the increasing economic burden which made them in many ways unbearable for a community which is not affluent.

The funerary expenses are borne by the mother's family. The *ziyarat* is performed in the local graveyard and after the party has returned to the local mosque, betel nut is distributed. On this occasion the presence of at least one member of every family is necessary.

The Sama Pathan is a localized community found in Borsad only and since it is a fairly small one, reforms have been relatively easy to enforce. Educationally, they are generally progressive. Elementary religious instruction is given but is generally limited to the *Qur'an*; more common is high school education after which the boy takes to some job. A few graduates have also come up and one of our informants was a lawyer.

The community was formerly agrarian but in recent years, it has been inclining more and more towards urban occupations. They speak Urdu with Gujarati inflexions and can read only the Gujarati script; not Arabic. *Purdah* is not common among them though female education has become popular only recently.

The dress patterns are like those of other Gujarati Muslims.

Babi Pathans

The Babi Pathans were an important factor in the period of disintegration which followed the collapse of the Mughal empire in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Gaekwar-Babi conflict for the mastery of the central and north Gujarat is one of the significant episodes of eighteenth century history. The Babis finally ended by establishing their ruling houses in Palanpur, Radhanpur, Janagadh and Mangrol, while the Gaekwads established themselves in Baroda.

Babi Pathans of more modest circumstances are found all over north Gujarat. Mostly, they are engaged in minor Government jobs and other services; even when they have land, they do not cultivate it but give it out. Increasingly therefore, they are tending to congregate in towns and take to urban occupations. Elementary religious education is given to children and they go to ordinary schools too; but not many can go higher up than the middle school level.

As far as possible, the Babi Pathans prefer to marry among themselves but they also give their daughters to Behlims and Chauhans. They say that they bring girls from Sheikhs and Sunni Vohras but do not give their own girls to them.

Traditional customs still prevail to a great extent among Babi Pathans.

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The expenses of the first child-birth are borne by the girl's father and this is an occasion for feasting the immediate relations. On the sixth day the child is named, the name being given as in other Gujarati communities by the father's sister. *Bism-i'llah*, *aqiqa* and *khatnah* follow as among other Muslims and are occasions of celebrations and communal feasting.

The sprinkling of colour in marriage is common when the two parties come together but the use of *haldi* or turmeric is not: even formerly, it was not prevalent. The bridegroom's party proceeds with music to the bride's place and the women throw salt and millet grains on the bridegroom. After the *nikah*, the bridegroom's party is treated to a dinner by the bride's father. The *mirasins* or singing women are commonly employed and they play on the *dhol* and sing during the marriage. Other customs are as among other Gujarati Muslims of the more traditional pattern.

Funerary expenses for women are defrayed by their parental household and other customs like the tenth, thirtieth and fortieth days, are observed. On the occasion of death, a communal dinner is held.

Unlike the Sama Pathans, the Babi Pathans are as yet not very greatly affected by the rationalizing tendencies.

Panara-Reshamwala

The Panaras are a craftsman community found both in Ahmedabad and Baroda. In Ahmedabad, they are called as Panaras, whereas in Baroda they have come to be known as Reshamwala. In Baroda, they have much fewer households than in Ahmedabad. For this reason, there is a fairly strong *jama'thandi* in Ahmedabad but not in Baroda.

In Ahmedabad, the *jama't* is known as the Muslim Panara Jama't which was founded in 1955. It has a President, General Secretary and a Treasurer elected according to a constitution framed in 1955. The *jama't* runs a reading room and club where newspapers and indoor recreational games, like carrom, are provided. The object is to provide opportunities for the young men of the community to come together.

Since the community has been declining in recent years, as its traditional occupation of starching silk and cotton thread and preparing it for weaving, has been falling off, its endogamous pattern of marriage has also been affected. Both in Baroda and Ahmedabad, marriages have been contracted outside the community though formerly such relations were not common.

Customs are mostly the same as those of urban Muslim communities with the emphasis on rationalization. Ostentation and wasteful expenditure has been to a great extent cut down: so also has been the use of colour and turmeric paste in marriage. The system of presents however continues: for instance, the bridegroom's party invariably sends a *suhagpuda* to the bride with due ceremonies.

The death is marked, as among others by breaking the bangles of the widow. Offerings are given for forty days and the other usual observances on the tenth,

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fortieth and other days are kept.

Religious education is limited to elementary stages only. After it, at about the age of six, the children attend ordinary schools. Literacy is fairly high and there are a few young men who have studied up to Matriculation; only very few have studied further. They speak Urdu mixed with Gujarati but are literate only in Gujarati.

Very few of the Panaras are now engaged in the traditional calling of starching silk and cotton thread. The bulk of them are mill workers and some have taken to private and minor government jobs. As a craftsman community, it has no agricultural bias; in fact, it is confined to urban areas only.

The Panaras like Morkash are the craftsman communities which have lost their traditional occupation and have adjusted by taking to paid jobs in mills and elsewhere as well as by other means. The loss of traditional occupation has been reflected in the loosening of the traditional caste organization and the gradual drift of the community towards a wider group.

SODAGAR

Sodagars are a dwindling community of merchants settled in Patan. They appear to have come to Patan from south Arabia in the Mughal age when it was a flourishing centre of cotton and textile manufacture and intermarried with local Sunni Vohras. Their main business was to carry their precious and costly ware to West Asia. Thus, they had usually two establishments in the Hejaz and in Patan. Since the manufacture of these textiles declined and Patan lost its position, the Sodagar families more and more stayed away in Arabia. About a century back, we were told, that there were more than four hundred and fifty Sodagar families in Patan; now barely a dozen remain.

Many of these families have abandoned their houses in Patan and some of them are now crumbling. These residential houses built on substantial lines and resembling Mughal structures and decorated with intricate *taghra* inlay work make sorry ruins. The Sodagar *mohalla*, once a flourishing locality, remains now a shadow of its former self.

The Sodagars call themselves as Arab Sheikhs, distinct from the Patani Shaikhs. They had an organization of theirs, *jama't-Shams-Sodagaran*, which looked after their garden and *jama'tkhana* and ran the madrasah; but now due to a fall in the number of members, it is more or less a defunct body.

As a foreign trading community still having its intimate links with West Asia, the Sodagars speak several languages fluently, especially Urdu and Arabic in addition to Gujarati. They send their boys after primary schooling in Gujarati to Hejaz where they stay for several years to learn their trade. Mostly, they are still traders but a few have taken to private and government services.

The well-knit in-group feeling and the Arab oriented culture is reflected in the habits and daily life of the Sodagars. The hypergamous pattern of marriage is maintained in as much as the Sodagars do not give their daughters outside

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though they may occasionally bring girls from outside. In fact, they prefer marriage connexions in Arabia where they have trade and other interests. Their *purdah* system is strict and women are veiled when they go out. Widow remarriages take place though divorces, as among other Muslims, are infrequent.

Till about ten years before, the men wore the flowing robes and the heavy turban and the close-fitting pyjamas; now, in Patan, they wear the shirts and pyjamas like other Muslims. The women dress more in the north Indian pattern with close-fitting pyjamas and low silken *kurtas* over which the *odhni* or the scarf is worn. This is supplemented by a white *burqa* when they go out.

Like other West Asian people, the Sodagars are fond of black tea and thick Middle Eastern coffee. Also, they have a number of Middle Eastern dishes which are served on special occasions like *bism-i'llah* and marriage. Most of them are highly literate and continued contact with Arabia, especially the Hejaz has deeply Islamized them. Yet, they have not imbibed much of purist influence and have not given up the *pir-muridi* system. They are disciples of the Refai order.

West Asian contact has also to a great extent prevented the indigenization of the Sodagars. They do not have the *satwansa* custom though the first childbirth takes place at the girl's parental home. The *aqiqa* is performed simultaneously with the naming ceremony on the seventh day. The processions which accompanied the *bism-i'llah* formerly have now gone out of fashion.

Engagement is preceded by the formal asking for the girl and the agreement to the proposal by the bride's people by sending a small present to the bridegroom. A written agreement marks the conclusion of the engagement.

Marriages are simple and the bridegroom walks on foot with the party to the bride's place. An unusual feature of the marriage is the written *talaq-i-tafwiz* which is taken by the bride's side and agreed to by the bridegroom. According to this condition, if the husband is unable to maintain his wife or fulfil the marital conditions, the wife has a right to claim a divorce without going through any complicated procedure. Another feature is the time fixed for *nikah-khwani* between the evening and the night prayers, which if exceeded, cause the parties to be visited by a fine. The intention of this is given to be that no one should be made to miss the prayers owing to these celebrations.

Communal dinners, with simplicity, are given both by the bride's side and the bridegroom's as well.

Death is marked by the ceremonies similar to other Muslims. Formerly, the entire *jama't* was given a dinner but this has now been restricted to immediate relations.

Unlike other Gujarati Muslims, the Sodagar do not prepare *tazias* during the Muharram. They believe in *pirs* and visit tombs and other shrines for the fulfilment of their desires.

The Sodagars speak a purer form of Urdu than other Muslims and can read and write it as well. Elementary education in religion is given after which

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children are sent to ordinary schools but they do not stay long there. After about six years of schooling, they are taken off and put into business.

The Sodagars on the whole are a well-to-do and cultured people though their numbers are decreasing due to lack of occupation in Patan.

SHAIKH: JULAHA

The Julahas, also called Vankar in Gujarati, are a fairly numerous community of handloom textile weavers in Patan and Ahmedabad. Almost as a rule, all of them call themselves Shaikhs though as a community they are referred to as Vankars or Julahas. They have about three to four hundred households in Patan and a number of them have gone also to Ahmedabad.

Though the Shaikh Julahas had settled down in Patan long ago and do not remember their original home, they do not appear to have originally belonged to this area. Their language is basically Urdu or Hindustani which has been overlaid with Gujarati inflexion rather than Gujarati which has Urdu words imported into it. In this, they differ from other Muslims. Patan in the past, from the time of the Sultans of Gujarat, was known for its textiles and it appears that at some stage this community came and settled here and took part in developing this industry.

As a community, the Shaikh Julahas observe a strictly endogamous pattern, especially regarding the marriage of their daughters. As one of them remarked, they would not give their daughters even to Syeds. The community has no formal *jama't* organization however and it is possible that girls are and have been taken from outside though it could not be ascertained from which community.

Most of the community is still engaged in the traditional occupation of handloom weaving for which they are supplied yarn and paid at piece rates. This, however, is not enough and many young men also go to prepare *bidis*, again at piece rates. In Sidhpore, where also there is a considerable Vankar-Julaha population, they have also taken to other miscellaneous occupations. In Ahmedabad most of them are mill-workers.

Many of the former customs have now undergone a change, especially those which entailed heavy expenses. *Satwansa* has been curtailed though the first child-birth takes at the parental home. Marriage is still celebrated with music and the procession to the bride's place starts with coconuts being broken. The dinners which accompany these occasions formerly were attended by the *jama't* but now only the immediate relatives are called.

Religious education is given to the children in early stages after which they go to ordinary schools. However, education, especially high school and higher education, is still not very common for the child is put early in some vocation to earn a livelihood.

The decline of Patan as a handloom cloth producing centre has affected this community as also the Sodagars. It is possible that the condition of these people might improve if this trade is revived.

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SHAIKH

As has been stated before, the term Shaikh can cover a community of no definite origin; more precisely, since an individual can call himself a Shaikh and since this epithet can be claimed by any person of uncertain caste, groups of persons who have no definite associations can be covered by this term.

Such groups are to be found in most Gujarat towns. Since these people have lived together for some time, in the same locality, a community feeling does arise; and this is cited from field-work in a north Gujarat town.

It was not possible for the informant to tell us how many households there were, for, in the same *mohalla* were also living Sindhis, Pathans and Faqirs. Possibly, there would be about four to five hundred houses.

The Shaikhs have no *jama'thandi* and no restriction on intermarriage with other communities, though as far as possible, they prefer marriages among near relations. But if they find a boy good enough, a girl is married outside; they also give girls in marriage more frequently to Sindhis.

The customs which the Shaikhs have are the same as other Gujarati Muslims though they are accompanied by music. Dowry is given and, as our informant told us, it often became a point of prestige which entailed ruinous expenditure. The sprinkling of colour and the use of turmeric paste has been declining in recent years but has not been given up. Large-scale dinners are also being given up.

Most of the Shaikhs are the followers of the Refai family and though disaffection appears to be growing they have not as yet given up the *pir-muridi* system. Elementary religious education is given to children but they do not attend schools for long. They have to be put into some job as early as possible.

The Shaikhs were reported to speak Urdu which is very much mixed with Gujarati; their Gujarati also contains Urdu words. As an urban community, without any definite associations or traditional occupation, they have taken to a number of miscellaneous occupations, especially private and government service in lower levels. Also they serve as domestic servants in rich Muslim homes. Some have opened petty hotels and *pan* shops and have become drivers and conductors in state transport and privately owned buses and trucks.

Thus as a poor labour, and in better-off families, urban lower class community, the Shaikhs have been greatly affected by present-day pressures with the result that they have become dissatisfied with their condition. Some of them felt that they were not in a position to utilise the educational and other opportunities due to their poverty and hence could not progress as much as as they would like to have done.

Yet it is notable that with widely differing backgrounds, a heterogeneous population has been able to develop a communal feeling sufficient to enable them to have a we and non-we feeling. Present day forces are against the formation of a strong close-knit community but in the past, they could have easily formed into an endogamous, caste unit.

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SIPAHI-KASBATI

The Sipahis, also called the Kasbatis in north Gujarat, are again a community of heterogeneous origin found in most Gujarat towns. The word Sipahi means a soldier and the word Kasbati, derived from the Persian word *qasbah*, means the resident of a small town. In both cases therefore it seems that this community has its origin in the garrisons which were established at different points in Gujarat during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To these were added the retainers who came in with Muslim nobles during this time.

Long association together has however, given to the Sipahis a greater homogeneity than the Shaikhs who are still too disjointed. There is a greater sense of community and a *jama't* organization. Saurashtra is the headquarters of this for the majority of the community is resident in the peninsula.

In the towns of mainland Gujarat, the marriage patterns of the community differ. In north Gujarat, the Sipahis claim that while they do not give their daughter outside, they occasionally bring their daughters-in-law from outside. In south Gujarat, intermarriage between Sipahis and parallel groups like Faqirs, Sindhis, Shaikhs and others, is frequent. These marriage connexions however do not extend to well-defined communities like the Sunni Vohra, Maleks and others.

Occupationally too, the Sipahis have been a service community but since the decline of the former land-owning class which they served, they have taken to miscellaneous urban occupations. They still prefer service, both government and private, and are to be found in positions like peons, constables and the like. Education, both religious and other, is limited to essentials only and higher education is denied generally by economic necessities.

Generally, the Kasbatis speak a corrupt brand of Urdu heavily tinged with Gujarati inflexions and words; the literate, read and write Gujarati alone. Their dress too has undergone a change in recent years; especially, women who were formerly wearing the *polka* or the skirt, are now wearing the ordinary Muslim type dress of the Gujarati pyjamas and long *kurta*.

In north Gujarat, Kasbati customs retain many features of the traditional system. *Satwansa* is observed and the first child-birth is at the girl's parental home. *Sunnat* or *khatnah* is more important than the *bism-i'llah* and was formerly celebrated with procession and music. Now this has been curtailed to a minimum. *Aqiqa* or shaving of the head is not done.

Traditional Gujarati customs like *mandwa* and *mehndi* are observed during marriage. The bridegroom proceeded to the bride's place below a canopy of flowers held by four men. But the *kangana* is tied even today and the bridegroom is accoutred with poniard; when they approach the bride's place, the party is pelted with salt; to protect themselves from that the bridegroom's people provide themselves with umbrellas. Colour is also sprinkled and music played. The *mehr*, as in parallel Gujarati castes, is fixed at Rs. 127. Other presents are as usual.

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Funerary customs are also nearly the same as in other Muslim communities.

The Sipahis are a community which, while distributed all over Gujarat, was more numerous in States than in British India for its patron class was in greater numbers there. In Baroda therefore the Sipahis were found in considerable numbers and they are also more numerous in Saurashtra.

SHOLAPURI JAMA'T

The Sholapuris are an immigrant community which came to Ahmedabad from Sholapur and its neighbourhood about half a century back in search of livelihood. Now they have about one hundred and ten households in Ahmedabad. A number of them are also settled in Surat, Navasari and Billimora.

Being a small community, the Sholapuris have an organized *jama't-bandi* system. Its office bearers, President, Honorary Secretary and the Treasurer are elected annually by a General Meeting and the *jama't* runs a madrasah which imparts elementary religious education.

Occupationally, the Sholapuris—most of them—are mill-workers and they live mostly in one *mohalla*. Only a few of them speak Marathi now and they are literate in Gujarati though they also speak Gujarati heavily tinged with Urdu. High school education is spreading but even now there are not many boys educated up to this standard. Religious education too is limited to essentials.

The customs too have undergone a change in the past years. *Satwansa* was observed but has been given little importance lately. The first child-birth is at the girl's parents' place. The sixth day and the fortieth day purificatory ceremonies, followed by presents from the parents to the daughter, are observed.

Aqiqa and *khatnah* follow though for the latter no definite time is fixed. *Bism-i'llah* is however done after four years and four months as in other Muslim communities. It is becoming customary to observe it simply.

Engagement or 'asking' is settled by the bridegroom's people visiting the bride's and making some presents of clothes and money. Some return gifts are then made. The *dhol* or *tom-tom* is played about two days before the marriage. Colour is sprinked on people on both sides and turmeric imprints made. Henna is applied both to boys and girls and the ritual bracelet, *kangana*, is tied. Five suits of clothes are sent to the bride's place by the bridegroom's people. It also includes the *suhagpuda* which contains flowers, sugar, perfume and other toilet articles.

The bridegroom goes in a procession to the bride's place, first stopping at the mausoleum of a *pir*. Then follow the usual customs of the brother-in-law holding the rein and being paid something. Then the *nikah* takes place and after it, the party is entertained. Formerly, it was the occasion for dancing and singing but now this has been curtailed. Then the party leaves taking the bride with them. The father-in-law pays a *salami* to the bridegroom.

Next day, the sisters and other young relatives of the bride go to the bridegroom's place to call the bride home. The *kangana* is then untied and the rites

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of the 'fourth day' are performed. For four Fridays the bridegroom dines at the father-in-law's place.

On the second day after the *nikah*, the two fathers ceremonially put turbans on each other's head and the two mothers exchange *odhnis* or scarfs, a ceremony symbolizing the birth of a bond between them.

Death is marked by the widow's bangles being broken immediately. No food is cooked for three days, until the *ziyarat* has been completed. The tenth day, twentieth day and fortieth day ceremonies are observed. On the fortieth day, relatives are given a dinner. An annual observance is also customary.

In many ways, it can be seen, the customs of the Sholapuris do not differ from those of other Muslims. It indicates two facts: first, that the basic regional differences have not been significant and secondly, indigenization has been to some extent responsible for rubbing out minor differences.

Syeds

The Syeds can be said to form the highest communal group in the Muslim society. One of the noted writers on medieval Indian history, Dr. K. M. Ashraf notes this high position given to the Syeds both in the medieval and the modern age. This is derived from their real and sometimes hypothetical descent from the Prophet through his daughter Faitmah and her husband the Prophet's cousin 'Ali.[1]

The Syeds enjoyed a special position in the Mughal polity and together with the Shaikhs, held a majority of the civil and ecclesiastical posts in the realm. In the army too, they were equally distinguished ,the Syeds of Bilgram having the distinction to hold the van of the Mughal line. Aurangzeb rebuked his grandson sharply when informed that he had called his Syed spouse, the daughter of a *paji* (reprobate) and under pain of punishment asked him to make up with her.[2]

Scores of Syed families entered Gujarat during the reigns of the Sultans of Gujarat (1400-1570) and their successors, the Mughals (1570-1750).[3] Most of them came from the North but a few also entered through the sea, settling in coastal towns like Surat and Cambay. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, the eighteenth century chronicle of Gujarat, lists the following important families:

1. The Shirazis
2. The Bukharis
3. The Rifa'is
4. The Qadiriyyas

[1] Ashraf, K. M., *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (Jawan Prakashan, Delhi, 1953), 71.

[2] Sarkar, J. M., *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, 81.

[3] *Khatimah*, 24-119, Translation 23-105. In this description of the notable saints of Gujarat 'Ali Muhammad, besides the ten Syed families mentioned, includes a number of Syeds, saints and also a number of other families.

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5. The Meshhedis
6. The Idrusis
7. The Tirmizis
8. The Bhaktaris
9. The Arizis
10. The Zaidis, and
11. The Mahdavis[4]

Of these, the Bukharis have been among the most well-known. Their forbear, Syed Burhan-u'd-din Qutb-i-Alam was the patron saint of Muzaffar Shah, the founder of the independent dynasty of Gujarat. Even more well-known was his son Shah 'Alam who flourished in the reign of Qatb-u'd-din Shah and Mahmud Shah Begada (late fifteenth century).[5] The family continued to be a prominent one in the reigns of the Sultans, rivalling the Sultans themselves in their popularity and power. It was divided into several branches and took a prominent part in the power-struggle during the reigns of the last Sultans of Gujarat, prior to the Mughal conquest.

Other Syed families too held prominent posts under the Sultans and included eminent Sufis among their members. Actually, many of them founded the *pir-muridi* system which became the livelihood of their descendants and brought them both affluence and eminence. Both Sikandar and 'Ali Muhammad describe the miracles ascribed to them with earnestness and in detail.

Of these, the Mahdavis, now mostly in Palanpur and Dabhoi, have belonged to what the Sunnis term a schismatic sect, being the followers of Shaikh Muhammad Jaunpori, the founder of the Mahdavi order. They have been the *pirs* of the Tais and a few other smaller communities who have been the followers of this sect.

Another family of Syeds, tracing their origin from Nizari Pirs and having within their ranks the important Imam Shah, entered Gujarat as Isma'ili missionaries, as has already been mentioned.[6] They have spread over north and south Gujarat but have more or less remained distinct from other Syeds, owing to the differences they had in dogma and faith.

These have been some of the prominent Syed lineages which have proliferated in the course of time. A few families have continued to be rich but the bulk of them have become poorer, becoming increasingly alienated from their cultural heritage and the learning which had distinguished their forbears. This has also been true of the numerous other lines founded by other Syed dignitaries.

In fact, only those families have continued to be relatively affluent who have been able to maintain themselves at socially strategic positions like those of *qazis* or could secure large landed grants from former states where they held

[4] *Khatirah*, 61-79, Translation 55-61.
[5] *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 72-91.
[6] Supra Chap. III.

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important military posts. Even here, the process of branching off and the incessant fragmentation of the patrimony had had its effects. Thus, the Syeds can hardly be regarded as an affluent section of the Muslim community.

In addition, the number of the ' true ' Syeds, in itself not insignificant, has been swelled by a considerable number of immigrants. This tendency is no new one; a well-worn Persian couplet, rather cynically, sums up this unobtrusive phenomenon of social rise:

Pish az-in qassab budem, ba'd az-in gashtim Shaikh,
Imsal ghallah chun arzan shawad, Syed mishawim.

" Before this, we were butchers but this year, we have become Shaikhs; as the grain becomes cheap this year, we shall become Syeds. " Keeping themselves aloof from these pseudo-Syeds and at the same time proving their bonafides, is one of the major concerns of the genuine Syed families which feel themselves to be in danger of being swamped.

Moreover, very often, the claim to be a Syed is questioned, especially if the person concerned makes use of his real or alleged lineage to establish himself as a *pir* or for distributing amulets and charms. Both of these activities arouse unfavourable attention, if practised too openly in cities like Ahmedabad or Baroda; a single-sheet pamphlet which attacked such a practitioner began with the pointed question: " You claim to be a Syed; what proof have you for this assertion? "

The ' true ' Syeds are therefore highly sensitive to marriage connexions and those customs which bespeak or even suggest a Syed origin. Other indices which are taken to suggest a genuine Syed background are: relative fluency in Urdu, unmixed with Gujarati, for, in Syed households, till recently well-versed in Persian, Urdu was the home language; certain peculiarities in dress, which are however fast disappearing, like green turbans.

Marriage among the Syeds is arranged as far as possible within the immediate kin group. *Kifa'at* is examined with special care, if an alliance outside is contemplated and, *shajras* and lineage charts on both the sides are examined with expert care. Naturally, the purer a family is, namely, the degree to which it can present an unblemished record free from non-Syed connexions, the higher it ranks and the more particular it is in forming new connexions. Normally, the parentage of the mother does not count in Muslim calculations but on such occasions when delicate balances for delicate matters are in use, such matters become amply relevant and can and do turn the scales thus determining the status of a family.

Within the immediate kin group, the favoured marriage is mother's brother's daughter's marriage, which is said to be particularly welcome. Many reasons are given for this preference. For the parents, especially the mother, it is the cementing of already existing ties; besides, the mother feels that her brother's daughter will be a more congenial daughter-in-law than the one brought from

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any other household. For the girl's parents, if they have found their sister to be in a good household, other things being equal, the prospect of giving the girl there is attractive. To the boy who has usually found his maternal uncle to be one of the most tolerant of his relatives, this alliance can mean the consummation of a claim. In fact, such betrothals were not uncommon in Syed households formerly even in infancy, though now they are very scarce.

Less preferred is an 'exchange' alliance, viz. father's sister's daughter's marriage and the parallel cousin-marriages. The Muslim law of succession is also said to favour cousin alliances for it allots a share to women and there is always a desire to keep the family property within itself.

With the greater dispersion of wealth, the role of economic status is also becoming pronounced in recent years and instances of Syed-Shaikh marriages are becoming more frequent. Even earlier, Mughal princes are known to have had Syed wives though after Akbar, no instances of Mughal princesses having been given outside the Mughal ruling lineage itself are found. However, we have noticed only rare instances of Syed girls being given to any but a 'true' Shaikh but it is possible that among equal status families and the less affluent sections of the Syeds, such alliances are undertaken, provided there are exceptional circumstances like a good bridegroom.

While daughters are generally not given out, it is becoming more frequent for poorer Syed families to take girls from relatively well-off agrarian communities like the Maliks. Such communities prefer Syed bridegrooms who serve as prestige connexions, whom they are also prepared to pay large dowries. In other ways, the red carpet is spread out for Syed sons-in-law, in such non-Syed families.

This tendency to gravitate towards the non-Syed in the poorer sections and towards equal status families in the better off ones, has as yet been somewhat restrained but is becoming more common, as economic and social pressures grow more onerous. The migration of a number of upper class families to Pakistan has intensified the problem. The absence of any caste organization and the Islamic discouragement to caste grooves has also helped the trend towards a broader individual affiliation.

Similar to upper class Muslims elsewhere in India, the Syeds have absorbed some of the mores of the higher Hindu castes. Among them, widows do not remarry; child marriages used to be frequent and dowries also are high compared to other Muslim communities. *Mehr* settlements too tend to be high but these, with dowries, depend more on the social and economic status of the family than on any communal imperative. There has been a virtual ban on widow remarriage and a number of girls widowed in childhood never remarried. This antipathy towards widow remarriage, foreign to orthodox Islam, exists in a number of higher caste Muslims, for instance, the Pathans in the Kaira district.

Also, as among other equal status groups, the Syeds do not have a system of caste dinners but special occasions are celebrated by dinners to friends, relations

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and acquaintances. On such occasions, status considerations become highly relevant and it is unusual to find poorer and lower status individual being treated differently from what his status justifies.

Distinct from other Muslim communities, the Syeds do not have the *satwansa* custom i.e. they do not celebrate the confirmation of pregnancy in its seventh month, although like others, the first pregnancy and birth takes place at the girl's parents' place. In recent years, this has led to the very custom of *satwansa* becoming obsolete in other Muslim communities; it has been reckoned as unnecessary and sometimes as a Hindu custom and has been given up.

As a rule, orthodox Syed families like other upper class Muslim families observe *purdah* with care, though again in certain westernized families, this is being given up. In the majority of Shaikh and Syed families, it is observed. Actually, the insistence on *purdah* increases with the emphasis on Islamization though this is one of those points on which Islamization conflicts with westernization.

The bulk of the Syeds came to Gujarat as soldiers and mercenaries and follow various professions. Economically, they do not form a unit; by the very nature of their community they could hardly be expected to form one. Spiritual and religious leadership—interpreted very broadly—has been the prerogative of a few families and these pirzada families, well-off in former times, are now not so comfortably placed but still highly regarded. Maritally, these families are fairly well inter-linked and can be said to form the richer section of the Syeds. At poorer levels, a number of occupations appear ranging from private service to small shop-keeping, especially crafts like tailoring.

Vohra: Sunni Vohra

The name Vohra can be said to stand not for any single community but for several whose broad similarity is that they are mainly of indigenous origin. Undoubtedly, a number of other communities are also indigenous but their special character, for instance, of being recruited from a particular Hindu caste or community has given them an individuality. Such, for instance, are the Girasias, Maleks and other Rajput and semi-Rajput communities. The word Vohra however embraces a more general category of primarily agrarian communities which were converted to Islam most probably during the reign of the Sultans of Gujarat.

Of these Vohras, the one distinct community is the Shi'a Isma'ili community of the Da'udi Bohras and its offshoots which have also formed into distinct communities. Another section is the Sunni Vohra group of communities, which is again not one single community but is formed of a number of distinct, regional units which are separate from one another. The tendency of the people to marry in small local units and again to keep marriage connexions localized and intimate has further led to the splintering of this broad mass into different units. Broadly, therefore, it is possible to distinguish several regional sections or independent communities:

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1. Patani Vohras
2. Kadiwal Vohras
3. Charotar Vohras
4. Surati Sunni Vohra

Besides, different communities have also come into existence as a result of allegiance to different *pirs*. Thus the majority of the Kadiwal Vohras are the followers of Pir Muhammad Shah, in whose name there is a trust and a library at Ahmedabad. Among Patani Vohras, a great many follow Kalumiyan Mashahadi while others are the *murids* of the Refais. This also leads to bifurcation within regional units.

Marriage patterns also differ from town to town. In Ahmedabad, Sunni Vohras till recently had a rule that while girls could be brought from outside, they could not be married off in a like manner; this has recently been amended to the effect that this can be done, provided the *jama't* is informed. Among the Sunni Vohras of Baroda, the provision of this relaxation has been there for a long time. Likewise, among Kadiwal Vohras too a similar system is in vogue; it is possible to give the daughters outside provided the *jama't* is informed and an indemnity of Rs. 151 is paid. This condition, it was said, had been put to prevent the poorer section of the community from being starved of brides.

The system of marriage alliances, can and usually does, differ from place to place. Marriage circles tend to be limited to bigger towns and small areas within the easy reach of smaller ones. At times, even migration does not disturb these circles. Thus, a Sunni Vohra family resident in Baroda for years was not known to have any relations there but only in the town to which it originally belonged.

The preference to marry within a known circle is continuing though necessity is compelling the Sunni Vohras—as others—to forge larger circles within which marriage alliances can be possible. Within this purview, economic status has come to play a significant part; the status of the family as judged by economic standing, education and Islamization is becoming more and more important.

Thus there are a number of communities within the Sunni Vohra fold and they are regional in constitution. Each of them is again sub-divided into local units and while marriage is technically and legally perfectly possible within them, it is generally preferred to retain the local affiliation.

Jama'thandi is fairly well established in all the Vohra communities. The Sunni Vohras of Ahmedabad and Baroda are organized in the *Sunnat Jama't Qamm-Bawahir*. This is a distinct body both in Baroda and Ahmedabad and at both places it has ancillary organizations which run madrasahs, *jama't-khanas*, grain shops and similar other co-operative enterprises. The Kadiwal Vohras, both of Kadi and Ahmedabad are represented in the Dargah Committee which manages the Pir Muhammad Shah Trust, one of the most im-

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portant institutions of Muslim learning in Gujarat. In actual fact, the mutual differences engendered by this responsibility has led to a schism in the Kadiwal community leading to the secession of a minority. The Surati Vohras have also a fairly well-endowed foundation which manages schools, madrasahs and provides scholarships to deserving Sunni Vohra students to continue their studies.

The *jama'tbandi* rules differ from place to place for these organizations are independent of each other and each is limited to a particular locality only. This becomes especially significant in marriage connexions.

In a note regarding the Sunni Vohras of Bharuch and south Gujarat, one of the members of the community wrote: " As a result of religious education and chiefly due to the growing influence of the religious schools (madressahs) at Dabhel and Rander in Surat district, the Bohoras have given up many Hindu customs prevalent in their marriages, deaths, etc. Change in their dress is also conspicuous. Bohoras of Kavi tract, said to be addicted to opium in the last century, are no longer in the habit of this narcotic drug. The custom of distributing 'lang' and 'wal' to please Hindu deity before marriage is a story of the past. Instead in some cases a 'waiz' (religious sermon) is arranged a day or two prior to marriage. Women have given up beating breasts and wailing in chorus on the occasion of death. The practice of celebrating pregnancy has almost disappeared.

" The influence of spiritual guides or *pirzadas* has diminished to a large extent and instead, the preachings of the 'maulvis' (teachers imparting religious lessons or sermons) from Dabhel or Rander and Deoband (in U. P.) madressahs have created healthy effect on the customs and manners of this village community. About 80 per cent of the Bohora women now do not use the dress of sari, bodice and petty-coat, the 20 per cent using the same are of old stock. Instead, they put on the Muslim dress of 'kudti' or shirt, 'ijar' or 'srval' and 'odhni'. Massive and heavy ornaments have been replaced by simple and light ones.

" In giving names to their children, Muslim names like Yakub, Khurshid, Ahmad, etc. are selected for boys instead of names like Akuji, Bajibhai, or Kalidas. Similarly, female names of Raji or Mulkah are yielding place to names like Mohammadi Begum, Zohra, etc." Another change which he notices is: " Preparations like Pakvan, Kansar, and rice and pulse and clarified butter are now rarely served. "

Several other indications of the influence of Islamization and also the rationalizing process to keep pace with the changing economy may be noted. Costly community dinners are becoming increasingly obsolete and ostentatious spending on ceremonial occasions like *bism-i'llah* and *khatnah* is frowned upon. The accent on simplicity is marked; and these value-changes are percolating into villages.

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Simultaneously, the *jama't* awareness and the in-group consciousness is also becoming more pronounced, especially in the middle sections of the cultivating and trading community. This is reflected in the control of marriages by *jama't* organizations, which require prior notice and permissions even when permitting extra-communal alliances.

Another notable feature is the shift towards Urdu from Gujarati. Half a century back, virtually the whole of the community spoke Gujarati at home; in recent years, Urdu has found a place as a spoken language even in homes. It has not however displaced Gujarati; but certainly it has gained greatly and is spoken by more people now and with a greater degree of purity.

The majority of the Sunni Vohras of all regions are cultivators but an increasing proportion is taking to trade for its livelihood. A number of families have migrated to South and East Africa, sharing a characteristic of the parallel Hindu caste of the Patidars, which also has recorded a phenomenal rise in the past half-century. These families, called Safaris in south Gujarat, have supported a number of charitable and educational organizations in their native places.

Simultaneously, an increasing number of young men in urban areas are taking to professional careers and their number is rising in schools and colleges. The educational trusts help to finance these young men especially those who proceed for technical and engineering careers.

Religious education for children is on the increase though few desire to make it a career. The number of the madrasahs, giving this education, has increased sharply in the post-war period.

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PART III
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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CHAPTER 6

THE ELEMENTS OF CASTE SYSTEM IN MUSLIM SOCIETY

IN EXAMINING the social organization and the hierarchical order found among Muslim communities, it has been felt necessary to start with the idea of caste, as one would, in a study of the Hindu social organization. This view is not unjustified; in many ways, Muslim communities though different, are also organized on similar lines. However, it is necessary to inquire more closely into the similarities and dissimilarities existing between the Hindu and Muslim systems and to bring into sharper focus the distinction between the caste as it exists in the Hindu order and its mutation within the periphery of Islam.

Despite its numerous variations, the Hindu caste system may be said to rest upon their three basic premises: the division of society into birth-determined, endogamous units, hierarchically organized and according primacy to the Brahmin; the allocation of occupations or functions, not specifically but generally, to these units; and the ritual concept of worship with a rigid and minutely graduated pollution index based on occupation, which serves to define the position of various units in the social scale as 'high' or 'low', 'clean' or 'untouchable'.

Based on these premises, Hindu society was fragmented into a number of autonomous groups which developed a strong inward orientation. So strong was their control on individual psyche that only an exceptional man could attempt to transcend the ethos created by the joint family and the caste. In return, they provided a safe niche for him to 'belong' to and a worthwhile sphere for ambition and recognition.

Simultaneously, in its other aspect, the caste system resembled a huge jig-saw puzzle with interlocking, interdependent parts, in which each unit was supposed to 'fit in' by carrying out its traditionally allotted task. Both within the caste and without it, as well the individual was expected to live up to the obligations which had been given to him by his birth as a member of a pre-ordained social order. This, therefore, was the other aspect of caste which emphasized duty rather than rank and gave recognition in accordance to the individual's ability to live up to it, as defined by the traditional system of laws and convention. It necessarily graded society but it also provided a competition-free and socially recognized way of life to those whom it placed 'low' in the social scale.

The entire system rested on the psycho-ethical justification provided by the *Karma* theory of determinism which while ascribing the present to actions in

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the past, held out hopes for the future. Here again the stress was on the efficient discharge of duties as traditionally defined and regulated; it is this which made the position of the Brahmin as the interpreter of law important—and again, to prevent the Brahmin from misusing his crucial role, a life of austerity was enjoined on him.

In this fashion, by eliminating competition, by making the concept of *dharma* or status-determined duty paramount and by making the Brahmins the custodians of this social order but forcing on them a life of austerity and self-abnegation, the law-givers had hoped to create a *sanatana* or eternal system which while taking inequality as ordained, would accentuate integration and harmony based upon the unwritten dictum that the value of man was determined not by birth alone but by his conduct. The Brahmin was indeed privileged but it was held that a faithful Shudra was superior to a renegade Brahmin.

Unlike Hinduism, Islam began as a revealed egalitarian faith. It discountenanced the system of idolatry and priesthood and since it commenced life as a rebel monotheistic creed, it stressed equality, devotion and fraternity. It repudiated birth-conferred privileges and based the worth of man on his piety as reflected in his conduct. Especially valuable was held the duty to fight for the cause; to defend the *millat* during its early days and then to expand its periphery with a militant, missionary zeal.

The idea of fraternity, indeed militant brotherhood, was emphasized by the Prophet himself in one of his most important sermons, the sermon of Arafat: " Know that all Muslims are brothers unto one another. Ye are one brotherhood. Nothing which belongs to another is lawful unto his brother, unless freely given out of goodwill. Guard yourself from committing injustice. "[1]

Even in his own lifetime, however, the Prophet discovered that the idea of brotherhood was powerless to eradicate the deeply ingrained tribal loyalties of his followers. The wars of the Riddat, following his death, increased rather than lessened these dissensions. The rapid expansion which followed caused a temporary lull but Arab settlements outside the peninsula developed along the lines which had existed formerly. Arab mind never became free of such inhibitions; later conquests which brought fresh racial strains with the ruling class, led to a constantly changing pattern where subtle distinctions came to be made on the basis of parentage. The number of schismatic sects which proliferated during the age of the Khalifas had their *raison d'être* not only in doctrinaire variations but also in conflicting and discriminatory racial and tribal differences. The upsurge of the Shi'a movement as an expression of *mawali* discontent is a case in point.

But while the ideal could never be adequately translated into practice, it

[1] A. Guillame, *The Life of Muhammad* (Translation of Ishaq's *Sirat Rasul Allah*), (Oxford University Press, 1955), 651. Syed 'Amir 'Ali, *Spirit of Islam* (Allen and Unwin, 1891, London), 214.

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never lost its appeal or validity. Only to a certain degree was inequality admitted especially in marriage alliances where *kifa'a* or the considerations of propinquity and status were held permissible;[2] also, the claims of the Quraish to pre-eminence were recognized. These concessions were inevitable for they were social facts which could hardly be negated; but linked with the tribal and racial obsession, this compromise led to wide breaches in the theoretical acceptance of absolute equality.

As Islam spread, power-groups proliferated inevitably and one of the important cementing forces which held them together was racial. Pride of birth encouraged the partiality towards endogamous marriages and this was further facilitated by the Quranic injunction permitting four wives and numerous concubines, none of whose offsprings were illegitimate. Admittedly, maternal parentage was not a determining factor under Islamic law; but other things being equal, it certainly led to shades of differences cropping up between man and man, subtle distinctions which became relevant where delicate questions of *kifa'at* and individual prestige were involved.

The result was the rise of a highly fluid communal system, flexible and responsive to subtle nuances but still affiliated to birth as a status symbol—positive or otherwise. In this accentuation lay the genesis of the Islamic caste-system as it came to be adumbrated in this land. The Turkish social system with which Islam entered India placed a high premium on birth and in fact, had formed itself into a ruling elite.[3] Undoubtedly, the Muslim social order of the middle ages, especially of its formative days in India, lacked the sophistication and diversification which was the hall-mark of the Hindu order but it certainly was sympathetic to the pattern which encouraged the formation of a stratified hierarchical society.

And yet, this development came to be outside the law-books. The strong family system, race-consciousness buttressed by the doctrine of *kifa'a* secured the higher tiers of Muslim society from plebeian infiltration. Consequently, the doctrine of equality while being given due weight in relevant spheres—for instance, in the case of line formation in mosques during prayer time—was not felt to be at loggerheads with this socially accepted stratification. As more and more of the ethos of the caste came to be absorbed, the very idea of this incongruity was lost. The elite accepted the endogamous pattern of community-formation qualified further by allied considerations of wealth and power in case of influential families.

As for the indigenous converts, they brought with them a *weltanschauung*

[2] According to Hanafi law, *kifa'a*, which means suitability or nearness and thereby the conditions of equality between the two parties necessary for marriage, is determined by six considerations: (a) lineage (*nasb*), (b) Islam, (c) free status, (d) financial suitability, (e) suitability in rectitude and piety, and (f) occupation. (Khadduri and Liebesny, *Law in the Middle East: Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Washington Middle East Institute, 1955), 138.

It will be noted that lineage or family connexions and status takes the first place in these priorities (see also Chapter VIII).

[3] Ashraf, K. M., op. cit., 55-73.

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based on the caste system and incorporated it in the Muslim system. Patterns of worship changed but social habits did not. The introduction of Islam led not to the obliteration of the caste system but to its proliferation.

But with significant variations. In Hinduism, orthodoxy was solidly ranged against any infringement of caste taboos, sanctioned by faith and rendered hoary by practice. In Islam, they were social facts, accepted but not justified by faith—and very often declaimed against by the reformers who yearned for the pristine days when there were no such distinctions.

Islam moreover lacked the basic premises with which the Hindu caste system had been elaborated. It had no charismatic priesthood, no role allocation to social unities, and no pollution index according to which the castes could be placed. Above all, it lacked the theoretical justification which had integrated the caste with the Hindu psyche. Its institutionalization within Islam therefore was haphazard and partial.

Hierarchy was accepted with all its concomitants as endogamy and status ascription to higher group. But mobility from one group to another was much greater compared to the Hindu system, and the role of status and wealth likewise was much more important. In the upper and Islamized strata, intermarriage between 'equal' families belonging even to different castes was not infrequent, a fact which was inconceivable in the Hindu system.

In addition, being a proselytizing faith, Islam always contained a residue of indeterminate members who were beyond the limits of the castes and yet were being sucked into the fold. This was more true of the poorer and the so-called 'lower' castes whose status was hazy at the boundaries. This indeterminacy was further obscured by the fact of the relatively less importance given to the mother which meant that in certain situations, endogamy itself could be compromised with in certain communities.

Lesser emphasis on pollution also distinguished the Muslim system from that of the Hindu. In theory, untouchability is impossible within Islam as caste is but both in Uttar Pradesh and Bengal, though not in Gujarat, a sweeper caste parallel to the Hindus and converted from it has come into being.[4] In regions like Gujarat where this caste is absent, the relative ascription of different castes in the scale has been made relatively difficult by it, as also by the absence of a ritually pure caste.

Since, the Muslim system developed in symbiotic relationship with the Hindu it has become, in a wider context, a part of the larger whole. Consequently, while the Hindu system was a complete one, the Muslim system was far from complete, especially in regions where Muslim population was in a minority.

[4] Ansari, Ghaus, "Muslim Castes in Uttar Pradesh," *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (Special Number), 50-51.

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A better understanding of these differences can probably be arrived at by comparing the position of the Syed in the Muslim order with that of the Brahmin in the Hindu.

By virtue of his ancestry, the Syed has been accorded a position of honour and respect in the Muslim social order. A Muslim is not supposed to succour an indigent Syed by offering him charity but to consider it a privilege to be in a position of being useful to a Syed.[5] Even the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb rebuked his grandson sharply when it came to his notice that he had slighted his Syed wife.[6]

This special position has placed the Syed on the top of the Muslim hierarchy and they have formed into a privileged class close to the centre of wealth and power; very often they themselves have been a part of the ruling order. With the Shaikhs, next to them, they have become the intellectual elite of the Muslim society.

But neither the Syeds nor the Shaikhs have formed into a ritually pure caste like the Brahmins with dispensations and obligations which are peculiar to them alone. Ritualism and ceremonial worship forms no part of Islam and there is no religious ceremony which would require the presence or the guidance of a learned expert. Any pious Muslim can lead the prayers if he is in a suitable state of purity necessary for saying them; marriage is a civil ceremony, not a religious sacrament and requires a civil official and reliable witnesses. The death ceremonies as well, can be conducted by any one knowing the appropriate *surahs*, which again are a mater of tradition rather than faith.

The Syeds have therefore lacked the charisma which has given the Brahmin his peculiar place in Hindu society. Muslim law moreover has never distinguished between a Syed and a non-Syed in the award of punishments. No special code of duties has been prescribed for them nor have they been enjoined to observe special fasts or prayers disallowed to the other Muslims. No special branch of learning has been limited to them alone; wherever such knowledge has existed, it has been held by special sects without any discrimination within its fold.

And, while the Syeds have generally been inclined to follow the learned professions for which they have been suited by their special position, there has never been any theoretical or religious injunction either prompting them towards a particular calling or barring them from it. Finally, there is no prohibition against their commensality with other Muslims.

It will be seen therefore that the accentuation in the Muslim pattern has been different from that of the Hindu. Both the systems resemble each other in their endogamous pattern of marriages and a keen sense of birth and lineage. Both have a sense of gradation, 'high' and 'low'. But while among the Hindus this has been refined, among the Muslims this has not been possible. The degree of hierarchical gradation is looser and mobility is relatively greater

[5] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX (Muslims and the Parsis), 8, fn. 1.
[6] Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* (M. C. Sarkar, Calcutta), 81.

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within the scale. Status plays a greater role in determining social distance and this consideration is a subtle blend of numerous definable and indefinable elements.

Equally distinct is the difference on the bottom of the social scale. The emphasis on pollution within the Muslim social order as between man and man is far less than is to be found among the Hindus.

The concept of individual impurity is distinctly unwritten in the Muslim cultural system. It is unlawful to carry out a religious obligation or to enter a mosque or any other venerated shrine while in a state of ceremonial impurity incurred chiefly by defecation and sexual contact or emission. The *namaz* thus cannot be said without prior *wazu* or ablutions and provision has been made for situations when no water is available. Physical cleanliness, therefore, is absolutely necessary for the act of worship in Islam.[7]

But since there never was any theoretical eleboration of the division of functions, no ' unclean ' caste or permanently unclean group came to be formed in Islam. In U.P. and Bengal untouchable communities which embraced Islam did not significantly improve their position or come to be regarded as clean castes and such groups hardly integrated within the Muslim system. Even the doors of the mosques remained closed to them and the appellation of Muslim if applied to them could be true only for census purposes.[8] They merely became another untouchable caste.

The total exclusion of the ' unclean ' castes from the Muslim pale was not only a reflex of the Hindu prejudices too deeply ingrained to be transcended by a change of faith among the bulk of the people but also of the inability of the Islamic framework to adapt itself to such a radical variation from its ideology. Moreover, it indicated the degree of the indigenization which the Muslim culture and society had undergone in India.[9]

The virtual absence of the ' unclean ' castes among the Muslim communities, therefore, by implication, in U. P. and Bengal and in reality in Gujarat, has prevented the utilization of this concept for grading the other castes. The result has been a proliferation of a number of ' equal ' castes for which the ascription of a hierarchy would be a difficult task. Among themselves too they do not have a clear concept of gradation and are perplexed when asked to define it.

In Gujarat, moreover, a number of poor and occupational ' foreign ' castes have entered and lived side by side with the indigenous castes. Such, for instance, were the Sindhis, Makranis, Habshis and others who came mainly as mercenary soldiers during the period of unrest in the eighteenth century.

[7] *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, " Salat ", 493.

[8] Ansari, op. cit. 50.

[9] For a similar process among the higher Muslim communities of Uttar Pradesh, refer, Zarina Ahmad " Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh, " *Economic Weekly*, Vol. XIV, No. 7 (February 17, 1962), 325-37.

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Other seafaring castes of dubious origin inhabit the coast. For none of these, the position was clear vis-a-vis other castes; economically, they were on par with the urban craftsman communities. Juxtapositions like these have resulted in the obliteration of a relatively fixed hierarchy of castes and led to the formation of endogamous, self-sufficient communities, standing roughly on par with each other.

Unlike the Hindu order, the Muslim system of castes, as noted before, is imperfect. Having had time to develop to its full stature and secure with religious sanction, the Hindu system evolved into a full-fledged one with inter-dependent parts, functioning in a mutual correspondence of functions. The Muslim system on the contrary developed as a symbiotic and often a parasitic graft on its predecessor. Its evolution was therefore inhibited and lopsided; in certain directions, for instance, craftsmen and labour, it developed more than in other directions, for instance, in service, where a lesser number of communities are found.

The relatively lesser number of Muslim service castes in areas like Gujarat, where Hindu service castes were already in existence, was partly due to the Muslim system developing in a symbiotic relationship with the earlier one. This fact led to the rise of Muslim service castes insofar as they contributed to the wealthier Muslim groups which preferred to have the co-religionists in these spheres and imported them from outside Gujarat. Also, especially in communities like the Dhobi, the Hajam and the Qassab, in addition to foreign elements, an indigenous element of the same community came into existence in Gujarat.

The development was nevertheless lopsided and emphasized certain sectors only. The 'unclean' communities thus, were absent altogether; only a few Bhois are found—a community which mainly served the upper class Muslims and which came over from the North. The number of indigenous service communities is low and mainly urban.

For many of the other services, the Muslim communities depended upon the Hindu service communities especially in rural areas. This was due to the fact that conversion did not affect the pattern of service relationships which was in existence. Rajputs, for instance, when they accepted Islam, admitted only a superficial tinge of Islamization and continued to observe their traditional practices and therefore were served after conversion by their priests and *barots*.

In parts of India, therefore, like Gujarat where the Muslims form a minority, the Muslim social system functioned as an integral part of the larger one. This aspect is clearly marked in the traditional pattern of exchange of services, a complex network which differed from place to place.

Another differentiation which occurs is in the lesser emphasis on pollution

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as an index to social differentiation among the different communities.

The position of the 'unclean' communities, especially the untouchable ones, called Harijan by Gandhiji has been discussed greatly by sociologists and social reformers. In their social organization and social ethos, these communities have differed greatly from the upper caste Hindus. As such they have impinged to a relatively low degree on the Hindu social system and have retained a great deal of autonomy. Wherever significant sections of them have been converted to Islam, they have not noticeably improved their social standing and have also retained their autonomy. The study made by Ghaus Ansari in Uttar Pradesh indicates the separation of the Muslim bhangi community from the rest of the Muslim social system as well as their individual social and cultural framework.

The isolation of the 'unclean' communities wherever they occur from the main body and their absence in regions like Gujarat has inhibited the projection of the commonly felt prejudice from being extended to Muslim castes which are low on the social scale. In particular, it has negated the application of this concept in the hierarchical ordering of the different communities. Consequently, below the four 'foreign' Muslim communities, there occur a number of castes which are roughly on par without any definite sense of hierarchy.

In addition to these indigenous Muslim communities, a number of foreign Muslim communities, poor and occupational, have entered Gujarat and developed by the side of these communities. Such, for instance, were the Arabs, Sindhis, Makranis, *Nakhudas*, Habshis and others who entered as mercenary soldiers and boatmen and sailors. Being Muslim, they were a part of the social system and being economically on par with indigenous castes, could be accepted only as their equals. The consequent juxtaposition resulted in rubbing out the hierarchical distinctions and creating a mosaic of endogamous, self-sufficient communities.

In such a set-up, status is based on economic standing and during the recent years, we find the upsurge of Sunni Vohra community which was formerly an agrarian community of central and south Gujarat. They have developed into a flourishing trading community with a significant overseas element. This general prosperity has brought them on a level with the 'foreign' Muslim communities.

A stable hierarchy as in the Hindu social system is therefore difficult to determine regarding these communities, a fact which is made all the more difficult by the egalitarian emphasis in Islamic social theory. In Gujarat where the Muslim castes belong to the strata which in the Hindu social order is designated as the 'clean' occupational and agrarian castes, it is even more difficult to determine.

With these limitations, it is possible to sketch a broad outline in which most

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of the Muslim castes fit in.[10]

By common consent, the Syeds have been recognized as the top-most community among the Muslims. The doctrine of *kifa'at* finds its greatest application among the Syeds and generally the Syeds are reluctant to give their daughter outside their immediate kin-groups.[11] In Ahmedabad, it leads to the exclusion of many families about whose standing, as Syeds, there may be a doubt.

Several factors have led to this primacy being granted to the Syeds. First and foremost is their lineage which is traced back to the Prophet through his daughter Fatimah and his cousin and son-in-law 'Ali. Owing to this, they have enjoyed the patronage and respect of the wealthy and privileged sections of the Muslim community which in turn has strengthened their position. These considerations have led the Syeds to become zealous upholders of the Islamic socio-cultural system. They have been probably the most literate of all castes and to their ranks have belonged a preponderant number of the *ulemas* and the *muftis*, the interpreters of Muslim law.

Next to the Syeds have been Shaikhs. 'True' Shaikhs claim to be the lineal descendants of the Quraish, the most prominent of whom were the first four Khalifahs of the Islamic state and the close associates and friends of the Prophet. Literally, the word Shaikh means an elder or a learned divine while its social reference has been to the special group mentioned above. This dual interpretation has led to this epithet being utilized in a great number of cases where communities and individuals have appropriated it to themselves in preference to more modest caste names. For this reason 'true' Shaikhs always put their eponym after their name, e.g. Abbasi from al-Abbas, the Prophet's uncle, Siddiqi, from Abubakr al-Siddiq, the first Khalifa, Faruqi, from 'Umar al-Faruq the second Khalifa and Usmani, from Usman, the third Khalifa.

The 'true' Shaikhs have come closest to the Syeds by virtue of their proximity to the Prophet and likewise have inherited the respect and veneration which is accorded by the Muslims to those near the Prophet, especially those who were the founders of the Islamic order. They too have been a predominantly literate community, contributing their share of the *ulemas* and *qazis*, the intellectual and cultural leaders of the Muslim community, as a whole. Like the Syeds, they have jealously preserved or in the past attempted to preserve the purity of their lineage, giving rise to a hypergamous pattern of marriage alliances.

Associated with these two predominantly literate castes, have been the ruling and landed castes of the past. Of these, the Pathans and the Mughals are foreign and the Rajputs are indigenous. These communities—large and sprawling

[10] A detailed account of different communities has been given in Part II.

[11] Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's chronicler, noted this tendency in his age, the second half of the sixteenth century. "In arranging marriages", he writes, "they are especially careful about race on both the sides so that there may be good off-springs. The effect of putting good seed into a saline soil illustrates the value of this precaution." *Akbar-nama* (Edited by Ahmad Ali and Abdul Rahim) *Bibliothica Indica*, 3 vols. 1873-1886. Translated by H. Beveridge, *Bibliothica Indica*, 1897-1939, III, 450 Trans. III, 677.

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are so numerous that they have been divided into large local castes, domiciled in different localities and having developed local endogamous marriage circles. Especially is this true of the Pathans and the Rajputs, for the Mughals, mainly concentrated around the ports in Gujarat, are much less numerous than the other two.

Almost parallel to these castes is the predominantly agrarian community of the Sunni Vohras, mainly coming from central and south Gujarat and which in north Gujarat is known as Patani Vohras. These different groups of Sunni Vohras do not intermarry and form separate castes. Both of them have risen in status in recent years as they are among the most prosperous trading communities in Gujarat.

Craftsman communities like the Ghanchis and Tais are distributed all over Gujarat. A few like the Ghanchis have improved their economic position and risen in the social scale; simultaneously, they have also Islamized their customs. Here again, status is coming to be less and less affiliated with caste and is becoming allied to economic standing.

Service communities are also found in most urban centres in Gujarat. They are generally poorer than other Muslim castes and for them it is more difficult than for others to rise. As a caste, they find it difficult to improve their economic position and individual families find it impossible to ally themselves matrimonially with any higher group. These castes therefore form the lower rung of the Muslim society in Gujarat.

Given all this, it would nevertheless be hard to maintain that 'foreign' Muslim communities have formed a hierarchy with Syeds at the apex. The distinction between the *ashraf* and the *ajlaf* does not exist in Gujarat. Ceremonial behaviour continues to be very much inward-oriented with only the peripheries open to outsiders. In the non-ceremonial sphere wealth and economic standing play a crucial role. Thus the position of Syeds has gone down a great deal in recent years and they do not automatically inspire the same respect as they did before. A hierarchical pattern can be discerned often in hypergamous marriage alliances; but even here, a Rajput who does not ally himself with the Pathans or Mughals or even the Shaikhs does not necessarily consider them 'above' himself.

Among the more well-to-do Muslim communities are also included the Shi'a Isma'ili communities, the Bohras and the Khojahs. These communities, closely integrated within themselves, stand outside the main block of Muslim communities. As such they do not form a part of the scale mainly intended for Sunni and non-Isma'ili communities.

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CHAPTER 7

JAMA'TBANDI OR CASTE ORGANIZATION

AMONG THE Muslims in Gujarat the word *nyat* is used for the caste groupings, in the same sense in which it is used to indicate the Hindu castes. Evidently, therefore, no distinction as such is felt to exist between the Hindu and the Muslim configurations for both are capable of being described by the same word. In early marriage records, the word *qaum* was used to designate the caste. This is the individualistic affiliation, for a person is identified by the *qaum* to which he belongs. Collectively, the caste is also called the *jama't*, which is equivalent to *nyat*. The communal organization is referred to as *jama'tbandi*. This system is the traditional expression of communal solidarity in a concrete form, designed to regulate the affairs of the community and to apply sanctions against the infractions of the communal code.

The strength of the communal organization is necessarily dependent upon the degree of internal solidarity felt by the community. This, as we shall see, depends on several factors. It is high in most poor and backward craftsmen and in the two Isma'ili Shi'a communities. It tends to lose strength in towns especially among broad amorphous groups. Here too, older communities with a background of strong communal organization tend to preserve their rules.

The essential basis of this internal unity can be said to be two-fold. In the first instance, a sense of belonging which is shared by most of the members exists and is taken for granted. This is the traditional anchor of the caste pattern. The caste identified the individual and provided the setting for his social self. Secondly, the crystallization of the caste patterns and their organization, highly sophisticated in certain castes like the Bohras and the Khojahs, has been felt to confer certain material advantages on its members and has thus been seen as advantageous.

The growing consciousness of Muslim unity has to a certain extent served to inhibit the identification with caste. However, Islamization has taken time in affecting the sphere which has been the preserve of caste, namely, the in-group marriage circles. Besides, caste organizations which have, by general consent, sought to Islamize their patterns of dress, behaviour and customs have not thought it fit to discard their particularist identification as caste and to merge themselves in an amorphous whole.

The sense of belonging, supreme element in keeping the caste system alive, in a Great Tradition which frowns on internal divisions expresses itself in several ways. First in this respect is the integration consequent on a well-knit kinship

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and marriage system.

Kinship system among the Muslims, is basically Indian though modified by Islamic law and usages. Kinship obligations are seen through the framework of the joint family and the extended lineage, primarily patrilineal. In agrarian communities, the law of succession has helped in the preservation of the traditional order by retaining the customary law in preference to the Islamic law which allows the female members a share in the ancestral property.

The cohesion of the family is strengthened by the general practice of cousin-marriages in all Muslim communities. Cross-cousin-marriages are generally preferred though parallel cousin-marriages are by no means barred. This has brought into being a system of expectations which is very delicately balanced upon family and individual relationships and virtually prohibits extra-communal relationships in this sphere. In a way, this is identical in spirit though vitally different in form, from the Hindu system of marriage. In both cases, marriages are arranged and therefore family affairs and consequently, other things being equal, the accent is on preserving and strengthening the links which already exist.

In addition to the kinship and marriage affiliations, other obligations cement in-caste unity. It is virtually obligatory for a member of a household to be present at the funeral of a fellow-caste member, even though the two households may not be on the best of terms. On certain occasions, communal dinners were called for and in certain occupational communities like the Dhobi, they are still obligatory. In others, rising expenses have inhibited such functions but still, it is considered essential to invite prominent members of the community or those living in the neighbourhood.

Commensality has flourished because of the preference shown for living together. A number of localities in all Gujarat towns bear caste names—both Hindu and Muslim—and were formed by the influx of these communities settling together in close proximity. Such Muslim communities naturally had their own places of religious worship, often called after them, as *Arabon-ki-masjid.* Sometimes, a community has had its own graveyard too.

These factors are most emphasized in the two Isma'ili communities which have their own separate establishments where other Muslims do not enter. They have their own *wadas*, mosques, hostelries and graveyards. They also have a highly sophisticated communal organization. With these indices, it is not hard to judge that community consciousness is highest among them.

The Institutional Structure

Given the existence of a closed communal group with highly integrated kinship and marriage relationships leading to a high degree of cohesion with well-recognized system of communal behaviour, the rise of administrative institutions was a necessary corollary.

Among Hindu castes, such institutions have been known to exist since antiquity. They were to be found mostly in service and occupational castes, poor

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and backward, away from the Brahmanic influence and the ethos of the twice-born and therefore without any well developed and sophisticated religious literature. This was natural. In higher castes, directly in contact with sacred and legal literature, the function of such institutions became limited. Individual obligations were sharply defined, ritualism was elaborate and complicated and sanctions tended to be legal and final rather than social and flexible.

The poorer and the backward castes substituted communal consciousness, as expressed in communal organizations for the legal sanctions provided by the sacred code. In addition, they had a relatively more flexible social structure. They had the institutional means by which the ostracized individual charged with severe offences could be punished and then taken back while in the upper caste, a similar offence would meet with virtual expulsion. Marriage laws moreover, were more flexible; widow remarriage was accepted, divorce allowed and temporary lapses from marital obligations not unknown. Thus for instance in the upper castes, doubts on a girl's honour meant virtual disgrace for the family; in a less sophisticated caste, such aberrations could be atoned for by a fine and a feast.

In short, where individual behaviour was not controlled by a sophisticated literature and trained priesthood and the marital code relatively free, the function of the caste administrative organization gained in importance. The norms set by the consensus of opinion, according to a generally accepted ethical code, were interpreted and implemented by this communal body.

Thus communities which tended to be localized and had lesser Brahmanical content in their cultural make-up, tended to develop strongly-knit institutions with a corresponding lessening accent on individualistic inhibitions. With greater awareness of the individual and his obligations, depending on the proximity to the Brahmanic lore linking with a consciousness of *noblesse oblige* the importance of such corporate bodies, diminished. For, where rights and obligations tended to be clear-cut, and social opinion effective, without communal deliberation and ways of readjustments in matters of marriage, divorce and other relationships, limited, the role of such institutions became too curtailed to be effective.

A similar phenomenon can be perceived in Muslim society, as well. Almost all service and occupational communities are organized according to the *jama't-bandi* pattern, varying from the highly cohesive to the loosely informal type. Almost none of the more Islamized, better off communities have it.

Social awareness similar to that of the higher Hindu castes has been partly responsible for the absence of the *jama'tbandi* organization in these communities. In addition, the higher content of Islamization in their cultural make-up has inhibited this development, by stressing the wider Islamic affiliation in preference to the narrower communal one—though, this factor has not affected their marriage preferences. This is one of the features which result from ambi-

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valent attitude of Muslim communities to the caste pattern.

Among the service and occupational communities, the degree of Islamization till recently was low and continues to be so in all the "lower" communities. Islam, therefore, was viewed not as a total supersession of former beliefs, especially social conventions but as the welcome discarding of certain false dogmas for better and truer ones. This change, therefore, was in the religious and cultural field leaving the social configurations, if not unaffected, relatively much as before.

This development was facilitated by the fact that conversions as they took place were more on collective, and communal than on individual lines. Communities as a whole, or what was more common, large segments of Hindu castes, went over to Islam and thus carried their total social system intact to the new religion. For a long time afterwards, Islam's penetration was but skin deep and therefore failed to affect the deeply ingrained ideas.

In Gujarat, the *jama'tbandi* system—which, as must be clearly understood, is nothing more than an external institutional reflex of a deeply felt communal solidarity—has been helped by the tendency of Muslim castes to be localized and distinguish themselves on the local basis from other communities, though they may bear the same name. Thus even, when the same caste is distributed all over Gujarat, marriages tend to be restricted within certain local groups—called *ekdas*—of the community, thus fragmenting into smaller endogamous ones. Thus the Dudhwalas of Baroda do not marry with those of Ahmedabad and the Mansuri Vohras of Nandot while aware of the existence of their caste in Baroda have their own *ekda*. This is also true of the Ghanchis, one of the most obstreperous of Muslim communities in Gujarat. Memons, one of large trading communities, distributed all over Gujarat and even beyond, are divided into no less than six endogamous units on the basis of their original home areas. Such a division exists even though the Memons have a fairly strong, well-organized community organization covering all the Memons.

This fragmentation of the larger unit into even smaller ones—a process helped by the preference of marriages within narrow circles—has tended to increase the number of small communities and to develop strong in-group bonds and therefore a relatively strong *jama'tbandi* organization. Other factors, for instance, the preference for living close together in the same localities has facilitated the creation of the mechanism which could translate the communal will into action.

The actual apparatus of this organization varies from community to community depending on its urbanization and Islamization. As a rule, the greater the impact of these two forces, the more formalized *jama'tbandi* system and utilized for the eradication of customs which are felt to be un-Islamic and undesirable. In village communities, the element of formalization is much less and the organization, mainly interested in maintaining the communal code,

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usually meets when it has some such issue before it.

Larger communities like the two Isma'ili communities, the Bohra and the Khojah which have a religious head, have developed a very sophisticated pattern of communal organization which is a government by itself. They form a class by themselves. Less elaborate but highly formalized are the organizations of widely spread and economically prosperous communities like the Memons and the Sunni Vohras. They also form a group by themselves, with written and registered constitutions, corporate organizations owning large properties, running schools and dispensaries and weekly or monthly newspapers and undertaking housing projects. In smaller communities, relatively poorer and localized, the patterns vary, and they may therefore be considered first.

A community which ranges from lower middle class to working class, mainly confined to a single town or a small area, without much English education though with a fair sprinkling of Gujarati literacy, would have a community organization which, while not sophisticated enough to manage a high school would be able to run a mosque and attached madrasah, maintain cohesion and pacify mutual quarrels. This can be said to be an example of urban organization.

One of the examples which can be cited is that of the Dudhwalas. This is a localized community limited to a single town. Formerly, as the name signifies, they were mostly milkmen but since the last half-a-century, they have taken to miscellaneous occupations, especially small trade, hackney carriage and now auto-rickshaw and taxi driving.

The community *jama'thandi* takes, as the base, the four residential concentrations, the *wadas*, in which the Dudhwalas live. Each locality elects four *patels* annually by manhood vote, women being given no right to participate directly in these affairs. These sixteen *patels* then form a working committee. This Committee elects from within itself, one *Pramukh* or Chairman and an *up Pramukh* or deputy Chairman and one *Mantri* or Secretary.

The function of this body is to look after the religious and social welfare of the community. During recent years, it has been charged with the responsibility of weeding out expensive and 'outdated' practices, especially those which the people find irksome in the rising cost of living. The Committee has, therefore, laid down the scale of expenses to be incurred for the functions attendant on *aqiqa*, *khatnah*, regulated communal dinners and fixed the *mehr* agreed to for marriage.

The fixation of these dues has been a salutary check on prestige expenditure and has therefore been welcomed by most of the members. The richer members who too could have very well acquiesced in the measure—and in fact, who could not with dignity, have protested—have seen in it a useful check to wasteful expenditure. Finally, the rising Islamic consciousness has served to bring such

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ostentatious practices into disfavour.

The Committee is naturally anxious to see that its rules are observed, and since at least one or two *patels* are present in every such ceremony, this is not difficult. The *patels* also act as witnesses in marriage contracts, the *nikah* and in agreements on the *mehr* or the dower. Cases of divorce or remarriage are also decided by them though the actual ceremony has to take place before a *qazi*. Other disputes too are generally taken to them and the *patels* try to keep the parties out of courts, as far as possible.

The Committee also attends to the religious education of the children by running a small madrasah where elementary religious education is given. Other welfare and community measures as well are undertaken. During Muharram, the *patels* organize their *mohalla* processions in co-operation with other resident communities, when they do not have an independent *tazia* of their own. Funerary rites are carried out in proper form and the indigent dead are given a suitable burial.

The funds of the *jama't* organization are derived from small dues fixed for each major ceremony, especially marriage. On each of these occasions, both parties make a contribution of Rs. 11 to the *ba'it-u'l-mal* or the communal fund. In addition, *zakat*, or charity payments which to a religiously inclined Muslim mean 2½ per cent of his earnings and other miscellaneous receipts are received in the *ba'it-u'l-mal*. Careful accounts are kept of the receipts and disbursements from the *ba'it-u'l-mal*.

The Dudhwala organization represents a stage in communal organization where an elementary degree of formalization has been reached. In Ahmedabad, several communities have passed this stage to establish the *jama't* organization on a more formal and sounder basis.

Three instances of such organizations with printed constitutions may be taken. The first, the 'Indian Afghan Jama't' or the organization of Indian Afghans, 'the desi Khan Sahibs', in other words, indigenous Pathans. The second is the oganization of the Arabs, the 'Anjuman Tanzim-u'l-Arab' and the last the 'Baghaban Jama't' of the Baghbans.

The Indian Afghan Jama't was founded on December 1st, 1957, with 308 members and Isakhan Haji Jahangir Khan 'Nashtar' as founder-President. The printed copy of the Constitution has a short introduction written by the founder-President, explaining the origin of the Afghans, their establishment in India, especially in Gujarat, and their present run-down condition and potentialities for betterment, which has prompted the foundation of the present organization.

In the course of his introduction, Shri Nashtar deplores the present condition of the Afghans, which is at a lower ebb than that of other foreign Muslim communities like the Syeds, Shaikhs and the Mughals, for in them some efforts at improvement have been made. On the contrary, among the Pathans poverty,

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ignorance and idleness is rampant; mutual good-will has become extinct and it is imperative that efforts were made to make Pathans live like Pathans in India by improving their moral and material condition.

The 'Manifesto' of the *jama't*, therefore, proclaims its dedication to bring the Pathan *qaum* in line with the progressive age of today, secure a prominent position for it and to strengthen the bonds of unity existing within it. To achieve these ends, it plans to secure commercial and other opportunities for its members, put forward their demands effectively, promote brotherhood between Khan Sahebs and other Muslims, provide educational opportunities for children, make every effort to improve the material condition of the *qaum*, especially to emphasize the *jama'tbandi*, on which depends the vital life-force of the *qaum*. Finally, it aims to work in co-operation with other Muslim *jama'ts* and urges its members to regard the work mentioned above as their own and discharge it with mutual co-operation, whether they belong to Ahmedabad or are outsiders.

The Constitution also lists more material benefits accruing from the membership of the *jama't*. The *jama't* will attempt to provide the utensils for eating and preparing food on all occasions of large communal dinners. It would provide help for education of poor boys and provide for widows and orphans as well as helping the indigent in sickness and other difficulties. The Council of the *jama't* will attempt to establish branches in all towns. Also, it will train boys to play the band, which obviously is one of the major occupations of the *qaum*. It will attempt to provide legal help on necessary occasions and to help a member in difficulties. It will also make arrangements to publicly honour students passing out in schools and colleges and thus instil the taste for education in young people. Finally, it aims to publish a monthly magazine to act as its organ and carry the message of the *jama't* to every member.

This is followed by the Constitution of the *jama't*. All Khan Sahebs can become Members on filling a form and paying a fee of Re. 1. The first office-bearers are listed: the Council will consist of the President, Honorary General Secretary, Joint Secretary, Treasurer and members of the Council. The Council will be elected for three years. The General Body will meet after March 31st to hear the Report of the Council and to consider the budget of the coming year. It will also fill vacancies, if any, and consider any other matter brought before it.

The Constitution goes on to list the rules regarding quorum, which will consist of twenty-one members in addition to the office-bearers, the powers of the Council, the powers of the President and the General Secretary as well as the obligations and rights of the members. These are as in other organizations. Finally, it ends by giving a reprint of the form listing the contributions which can be made to the fund of the *jama't*; *zakat* (charity), *imdad* (help), *khairat* (non-obligatory charity), *bakhshis* (gift), *sadaqat* (religious offering), *fitra* (fasts, etc.), *nazr-o-niyaz* (miscellaneous offerings) and *qurbani-ni-khalo* (skins of animals used for sacrifice).

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The Tanzim-u'l Arab was founded in June 1952 when a few Arab members met and felt the necessity of having an organization which will take in hand the education of the young as well as other matters contributing to the general enlightenment and improvement of the community. It contains two notable features; the first is a pledge in which a member swears to establish brotherhood in the Arab *qaum*, maintain the organization and promote its welfare and progress. For this end, he also promises in accordance with the needs of the Arabs, to offer his material and moral help. This pledge is the basic condition of membership.

The other feature is an appeal addressed to all Arabs. It deplores the lack of organization among the Arabs and the disappearance of what little there had been. It explains the urgent need for such a body and the circumstances in which the present one was born, ending with an appeal to the Arabs to co-operate in making it a success.

The Constitution lists the condition of membership, the pledge with an admission fee of Re. 1 and a monthly fee of As. 8. Among the obligations of the members is listed a fine of As. 4 payable in case of absence without adequate reasons from any General or Council meeting as also fines in case of late payment of dues. Every member is enjoined to strive his best to promote education among the boys of the *qaum*, improve the material condition and physical health of its members and to encourage the growth of higher virtues.

The Working Committee is to consist of eleven members, elected annually at the General Meeting. It will include the *Pramukh*, *up-Pramukh*, Secretary, Joint Secretary, Treasurer and Auditor. It will be responsible for the daily management of the organization. The powers of the *Pramukh* and the Secretary are then listed and it is laid down that all work will be done either by unanimous decision or by majority vote. If any dispute is referred to the Committee, then the *Pramukh* will constitute a sub-committee of four members from among the Working Committee to go into the matter and decide impartially.

In conclusion, it is laid down that the Anjuman will try to have its members present on all occasions of death, when given intimation, make a contribution of at least Rs. 5 if a general dinner is given on joyful occasions and make suitable presents to any young person who has distinguished himself in the occupational or educational field.

The Baghban community had a long series of acrimonious disputes which destroyed their traditional organization. One of the efforts made to end this chronic trouble was the foundation of the Baghban organization in November, 1952.

The proposal to establish this organization was preceded by an appeal which bewailed the backward condition of the *jama't* and its predilection for quarrels. It brought into being a Working Committee and Advisory Committee designed

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to create and office for the *jama't*, make efforts to improve its condition, propagate religious and secular education and create interest in physical and social betterment, end mutual quarrelling, help widows and indigents, arrange for funerary rites of such people, organize religious and social festivals and finally to honour young men successful in school and college examinations.

It also framed a constitution creating a fund in which each member was to pay As. 4, (np. 25) each shop-keeper an additional As. 2, (np. 12) on each marriage, Rs. 11 and penalty of As. 4 for absence from an occasion of marriage and Re. 1/4, from an occasion of death. Other matters dealt with were: to admit those who have left the community in the past, to adjudicate on disputes suitably and impartially. The Constitution then went on to specify the powers of the President, election of members and such other necessary details. Finally, it made attendance of members on occasions of marriage obligatory and made it compulsory for the person concerned to invite all the members, and not merely the members of the working committee. It imposed a heavy fine of Rs. 101 on any person celebrating this occasion without the prior permission of the *jama't*.

The establishment of this constitution did not end the chronic feud within the community. Nearly seven years later fresh attempts to end these disputes were made and apparently, they had succeeded. On the occasion of this success, the authors of the feat were congratulated by other Muslim groups and their leaders, like the Chairman of the Indian Afghan Jama't, by the representatives of the Muslim Patani Jama't, Ikhlas Committee, Qureshi Jama't, Baheshati Jama't, Cambay Muslim Jama't and Gujarat Muslim Panara Jama't.

The Dudhwala *jama't* organization represents a pattern in which formalization is still in its initial stage. The next three instances are of those communities where more progress has been made and printed constitutions have replaced the simpler and more rudimentary organization. Among larger communities like the Memons and the Sunni Vohras—not to speak of the Isma'ili Shi'a communities—this system becomes highly complicated and divides into several separate organizations devoted to housing, education, religious endowments, etc. With generous help from wealthier members of the community, these institutions manage a number of charitable and mutual help trusts and co-operatives. These complicated organizations, managed by lawyers or experienced public workers become a study in themselves.

Poorer and backward communities, usually smaller ones still continue to have the traditional pattern of communal organization. Such for instance is the case with Bhoi, Qassab and the Julahas. Among them, *patels* are not formally elected but recognition as such is accorded to acknowledged leaders in the different *wadas* or localities. Advantage is taken of special occasions like marriages or other communal get-togethers to deal with any of the pending

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questions or discuss a matter of common interest. The Chhaparbandhs in similar fashion select a *patel* or *mukhi* and four others to form a Panchayat which meets on occasions like these and decides on the questions awaiting it.

Among Dhobis, this traditional *jama'tbandi* keeps a particularly stiff control over the community. In most towns, it has an independent organization but this is too rudimentary to develop contacts with others.' On occasions of *bism-i'llah*, *khatnah* and marriage, a communal dinner is insisted upon and other matters like engagements have to be notified to the Panch and their consent obtained. It was in this community that a case occurred of sanctions being imposed on a widow who had failed to give the required dinner on her husband's demise.

It will be seen from the above account that *jama'tbandi* has in recent period undergone a change. The traditional pattern, preserved in relatively conservative and backward communities, is unconcerned with the problems of livelihood and education that beset the community. It is therefore most evident in service communities, like the Bhois and the Dhobis whose ways of life have not faced a challenge similar to those of the others.

The punitive aspect of *jama'tbandi* is also retained to a greater extent by the traditionally oriented ones. Excommunication was officially forbidden till recently and only in 1962 was that law found invalid. This took away much of the former terror of the *jama't* and it is only in a few and exceptional communities that occasional sentences of excommunication are pronounced.[1]

In the new pattern of *jama'tbandi*, the leadership has passed to men who are to a degree conscious of the challenge posed by the changed circumstances and feel the need to adapt to them. The emphasis is therefore on reform in the communal code by discouraging costly customs, especially extravagance on marriage, *khatnah* and similar occasions. The need for education is also felt and one of the important points made is the encouragement to be given to education, both secular and religious in the community. It is worth noting that in recent years the number of small madrasahs devoted to elementary religious education, run and maintained by these bodies, has gone up.

Simultaneous with reform, the need for greater Islamization is also felt. Music becomes a criterion in some of the situations created owing to this feeling for the playing of music has been an essential part of most of the festivities. A number of reformed communities insist on the discontinuance of this practice for instance the reformed sections of the Pathans and Maliks in a central Gujarat town are said to boycott festivities which allow them. A

[1] Under the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act of 1949, excommunication was forbidden by law and remained so till early in 1962 when the Supreme Court, on an appeal by Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din, found it to militate against Art. 26 (B) of the Constitution. *Tamanna*, February 1962; *Times of India*, January 10 and 13, 1962.

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lot of opposition is naturally engendered and most of the communities have not yet been able to make up their mind whether or not to ban music completely.

It is remarkable however, that the caste pattern has been completely accepted even when the awareness of Islam has increased; rather, the ritualistic part of Islam, obligatory on the individual is sought to be propagated through the medium of the *jama't* and the members are advised to purge themselves of elements which are considered un-Islamic. Yet the *jama'tbandi* pattern is taken as the basic frame of reference for social entities and in well defined communities like the Tai, the young men form into clubs according to the *jama't*. Above all, not only has the marriage pattern continued unchanged but the general opinion seems to be against any modification of the traditional system.

By adapting itself in this fashion to changing circumstances the *jama'tbandi* system has strengthened the internal cohesion within the communities and preserved the sense of belonging which confers on the individual a security which is afforded by no other comparable unit. The changing circumstances and the emerging pattern have created tensions which were less known before, most important of which has been the rise of factionalism and party politics in communal affairs. Also present has been the two-fold struggle; between traditionalism represented by the older folk which sets its face against any reform and small but insistent voice which stresses the fundamental unity of all Muslim and the undesirability of smaller divisions. But against both these forces, reformed *jama'tbandi* has succeeded in establishing itself, at least for the time being.

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CHAPTER 8

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

WE HAVE given elsewhere the customs and ceremonies which are attendant on marriage in certain Muslim communities. They are, in a sense, atypical of the reformed version of the marriage customs. An excellent description of these customs as they prevailed at the end of the nineteenth century has been given by Fazlullah Lutfullah in the Gazetteer.

Here what we mainly discuss is the role of marriage in the social structure of the Muslim communities. It is not intended to go into the legal and ideological background of marriage as an institution in Muslim society but to explain how this system of alliances has been expressed in and has influenced the communal and the familial relationships among the Muslim communities in Gujarat.

Marriage in Islamic law is a contract as has often been said and not a sacrament as among the Hindus. In actual practice, the contractual provisions have been formalized and deprived of much of their effect. Marriage among the Muslims, as among the Hindus, is an important family affair arranged according to its requirements, by the elders of the family.

The priority given to the interests of the family is supported by the doctrine of *kifa'a* or suitability which has been emphasized by Abu Hanifa, the jurist whose legal system is the one accepted in India. " More than any other jurist ", writes Muhammad Abu Zahra, " he adhered stringently to the conditions surrounding the conditions of the suitability of the husband for his wife with respect to equality of the man's family to that of woman in those respects of reputation and esteem in which families are likely to differ ". This is based on six considerations: lineage, Islam, free status, financial suitability, suitability in rectitude and piety and occupation.[1]

This suitability, especially of the male partner is given importance under Hanafi law for two reasons: in the first place, while a male marrying a low status woman would raise her to his own, the same would not be true of a high status woman marrying a low status man. Secondly, if the woman had the freedom to marry whomsoever she wanted, her guardians must have a reserve right to impose this condition to safeguard the rights of both parties.

This rule in the upper class Muslims has led to the close examination of the status of the family with which the marriage of a girl is contemplated. Every group attempts to marry either within its own marriage circle or give its daughters to a higher group, especially the four foreign Muslim castes. Thus, the Syeds are sought after as bridegrooms though until recent times, it was unusual for

[1] Khadduri and Liebesny, *Law in the Middle East*, I, 138.

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a Syed girl to be given outside.

Thus in Syeds, it was possible to bring a bride from outside but this too was done under unusual conditions either when a heavy dowry was promised or a bride was not readily available. A man's first marriage received good deal of attention; later marriages were treated with less consideration. But a subtle distinction remained; on crucial occasions a person with Syed parentage on both sides could be ranked higher than one whose father alone was a Syed. And continued inter-marriages like this in a few generations could affect the position of the family. This was the agency by which the pseudo-Syed families which have proliferated in all parts af Gujarat, attained their cherished rank.

In certain circumstances Syed brides coulo be given to non-Syed bridegrooms but in these cases the other party had to be exceptionally well-placed to merit this distinction. Considerations of wealth and political power as also the unusual character of a man could lead to the departure from the normal practice.

Within certain limits, it is becoming more common in the upper, more well-to-do social groups to pay greater attention to the social, economic and educational standards of a family than its formal affiliation to the community. It does not, of course, imply intermarriage with groups which are sharply differentiated, as for instance, the two Shi'a Isma'ili communities and the rest of the Muslims. It also would normally rule out groups which have occupied a traditionally lower position in relation to the four foreign Muslim communities, like the service and labour communities. Generally, it means the recognition of parity between the four foreign Muslim communities and the richer land-owning Rajput group for the purposes of marriage alliances, depending upon the status of the particular family with which the alliance is sought. One of the factors which has helped in this development is the migration of a number of well-to-do families or of considerable sections of them to Pakistan which has led to certain contraction of the marriage market in the upper and wealthier spheres.

The other communities can be broadly divided into three categories. In the first place are those Muslim communities which have a closed, endogamous pattern of marriage within their own community. Such are the Bohras and the Khojahs, the two Isma'ili communities, the Memons and some of the artisan and service communities like the Tai, Dudhwala and Dhobi. In areas of relative isolation like Kacchh, most of the *jama'ts* keep the endogamous structure intact.

In the second place are those communities which follow an endogamous pattern to a large extent but also enter into marital connexions with other communities whom they regard as equal or preferably higher to them. This would include some of large and widely dispersed Muslim communities like Maleks, Ghanchis, some sections of Rajputs, Behlims and others. The upward pull is evident among the families in these communities by their taking the title of Shaikh and also reforming and Islamizing their customs.

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Finally, there is a considerable polyglot group of very loosely organized communities like the Sipahi, Kasbati and others who intermarry freely within themselves and also with other communities. In urban centres, this amorphous group also includes splinters from other better defined communities and some former service communities like the Bhands and Gandharps. In towns like Bharuch, it also contains a great deal of shifting population and also marginal, small groups which are too small for an endogamous pattern. In industrial centres like Ahmedabad, the large influx of non-Gujarati labour has added to this number.

Most marriages take place in the same town, especially in communities where the endogamous pattern is strong. Certain communities like the Dudhwalas are limited to only one town and marriage therefore necessarily becomes restricted. Among other communities where there is a wider dispersal, there is a strong preference for marriage within a small, known circle. Thus endogamous communities also tend to break into marriage circles called the *ekda*, within which alone does marriage take place. The Mansuri Vohras of a central Gujarat town were aware of their fellow-caste people elsewhere but they had their own *ekda* within which alone, they married.

In the preference for marriage within a community, the Muslim social system is akin to the Hindu. In the preference for cousin marriages, it shows a distinct Islamic tinge.

Under Muslim law, impediments to marriage are basically of three categories: those established by blood kinship which bar lineal ascendants and descendants, off-springs of the same parents and off-springs of grandparents, if only one degree removed; secondly those, established by marriage, which deal with the kindred of the spouse, in the same order, with certain additional provisions. Finally, it is established by the 'milk' relationship between an infant who is suckled on the one hand and the woman who suckles him on the other; she is accorded the position of the mother and her kin becomes the child's suckling kin whom he is forbidden to marry.

There are other temporary bars, for instance, against a woman in *iddat* following the death of or divorce from her husband, or against simultaneous marriage with two women who are closely related. A woman who has been divorced three times is prohibited to the same husband until she has been married to someone else, has lived with him and has been divorced. Finally, the maximum number of wives a man can have at the same time is four; no marriage contract with the fifth was legal until the man had separated himself from one of his wives and the period of *iddat* had expired.[2]

Cousin-marriages therefore are not barred as in the Hindu social system, especially in the North and in actual practice, they have been the preferred ones not only in India but also in the Muslim world. The communities which

[2] Idem I, 134-7: Muhammad 'Ali, *Religion of Islam*, Lahore, 1936, 606-13.

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show the greatest predilection for these marriages are the foreign Muslim ones especially the Pathans, Shaikhs, Mughals, and the Syeds. Those among whom it seems to be the least popular are the indigenous communities especially the Garasias and the Rajputs. During the course of our observation we were told that cousin-marriages were popular but it has not been possible to establish a community-wise system of preferences, except in broad terms.

Among cousin-marriages, the commonest form is parallel cousin-marriage, to one's mother's sister's daughter. The next in order is the cross-cousin-marriage to the mother's brother's daughter in which the niece follows her paternal aunt to the same house. In both these preferred cases, preference is to draw wives from the same source as the mothers; the mother's sister's daughter is preferred because of the relatively greater intimacy between the two sisters and also because it establishes links between the yet unrelated households.

The next in order comes the reverse type of cross-cousin-marriage, namely, to the father's sister's daughter. This is relatively less common for it offends against the hypergamous sensitivity especially if the former marriage was with a person of unequal status. In closely-knit communities, however, which do not retain overtones of an earlier cultural pattern, like the Bohras, it is reported to be frequent. In Syed and Shaikh families too, if both are satisfied as to *nasb* or lineage, it is undertaken.

Finally, among foreign Muslim communities, the paternal parallel cousin-marriage, namely, to father's brother's daughter is also not rare. One of the reasons given for this type of marriage is that it retains the family wealth in the family itself, a material factor since the daughter is an important beneficiary under the Muslim law.

Such a system of marriage alliance is directly responsible in strengthening links within the family as also between different families. *Per contra*, it can also lead to serious breaches. For, based on these relationships, a system of expectation is built up in which 'claims' to a boy or girl are indicated. It is keen, when a boy is promising among his relatives but it is keener in the case of girls. For, it is customary to 'ask' for a girl from her parents and in case a claim which has been built up on the basis of cousin relationships is set aside without due cause, serious rifts may occur.

The family organization among the Muslim communities in Gujarat appears parallel to the Hindus' in the sense that the same type of patrilocal, patrilineal family system prevails in both. This is indicated by the special legal provisions given to certain Muslim communities like the Molesalam Garasias, Memons and Khojahs. Until 1938, these groups were given the benefit of customary law which excluded women from succession; even now, Muslim law is made applicable to Khojahs only on his express declaration.[3]

We were not able to make a detailed analysis into the family organization

[3] Tyabji, F.B., *Muhammadan Law* (N. M. Tripathi, Bombay 1940), 59-77.

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but in response to our general queries, we were informed that the common form of living was in the form of large households which included several married and unmarried brothers and their other relatives, living under the same roof, presided over by the father. For this the phrase used was *samyukta pariwar*, which is the same as is used in Gujarati Hindu families for the joint-family. From this, it may be gathered that the Muslims did not feel that any substantial difference between his system of family living and that of the Hindus, exists. Or if it does, it is negligible.

This similarity is supported by virtually the same kinship terminology which is used both by the Hindus and the Muslims. In some communities, mostly foreign upper-class, where Urdu is commonly spoken and understood, Urdu modes of address are substituted for Gujarati; for instance, the father is addressed as *bapu* in most Gujarati speaking communities and as *abba* in Urdu speaking ones. The purity of Urdu diction is, however, relative; only very exceptional families where the speech has been deliberately cultivated and which have north Indian connexions, have the common north Indian appellation *apa* for the elder married sister or the *baji* for the unmarried one. The same is true of other Urdu appellations like *dulha-bhai* for the elder brother-in-law.

The kinship terminology is classificatory based on a few crucial links. In the first ascendant group above the ego, the important links are provided by the father and his brothers and sisters and the mother and her brothers and sisters. The father is called *bapu* or *abba* and his brother is *chacha* or *kaka*, his sister, *phuphphi*; the mother *ba* or *amman*, her brother, *mamun* and her sister, *masi* or *khala*. The cousin relationship thus formed are referred to according to the link they are derived from and the sense of obligation measured according to the degrees, they are removed.

In the same age group, the basic ties are furnished by the brothers (*bhai*) and sister (*ben*). Here, in more orthodox Muslim families, where *purdah* is strictly observed, a distinction is made between male relatives to whom a girl cannot be married, referred to as *mahram* and those whom she can be, called *ghair-mahram* or *na-mahram*. Generally therefore, a girl on entering the age of puberty, secludes herself from all such individuals which, as will be seen, entails a stricter *purdah* than among the Hindus.

Otherwise, the cousin relationships are viewed in the same class as brothers and sisters, though the tie here is not as close. The elder cousin is addressed with the respectful suffix of *ji* or *saheb* and the younger one is called by name. Even in communities where *purdah* is not strict, the awareness of a possible marriage leads to certain restraint being observed among the potential partners.

On the descendant scale, the basic links are made by the son (*beta*) and the brother's son (*bhatija*) or daughter (*bhatiji*) or the sister's son (*bhanej*) or the sister's daughter (*bhaneji*). Here again, the kinship network can be spread to include as distant a kindred as desired by applying the principle of analogy to the brother's of sister's son or daughter, as the case may be.

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In the case of kinship by marriage, the son-in-law occupies a special place in his father-in-law's place and a special ceremony accompanies his visits there. This again resembles the Hindu position. Here again, the pivotal relationships are formed in a network resembling the ego's own, but it is through the wife that they are seen. In the same fashion, a bride (*bahu*), entering her father-in-law's household is surrounded by a network of relationships pivoting around her husband, with the distance or nearness, measured accordingly.

It has not been possible for us to find details of obligations which these relationships engender except in very wide terms which suggest that it is not dissimilar to the Hindu system. In fact, the informants themselves did not appear to find much difference between them. Further field-work is however needed before any conclusions can be arrived at.

Community Differentiation and Marriage

The fluidity of the Muslim caste system and the parallelism between the different castes is best indicated by an analysis of the marriage records preserved with the *Qazis* of towns like Bharuch, Baroda and Ahmedabad. One such sample is presented below on the basis of a random register from the *Qazi* of Bharuch.

This Register, Serial No. 10, records 269 marriages between October 5th 1853 and September 8th 1855. Each marriage record gives the name, father's name *qaum* (caste), age and residential domicile of the bridegroom and the bride. Very often, in many cases, the age and *qaum* are also omitted. It also records the name of the *Wakil* and the two witnesses who testified to the marriage and the *Qazi* or his agent who performed the ceremony. In case of widow remarriage, it also contains a declaration by two men or failing that by the widow herself that her husband is dead and that there is no binding on her preventing her from contracting the marriage.

The Register records 35 widow remarriages, of which 2 cases appear doubtful and which may be those of divorced women being remarried while the rest are first marriages for the women; there was no way of knowing whether the marriage was the first or second for the men. Community-wise, the marriages appear as unders :

Male first:
Abdali—Abdali : 1
„ —Awindsaz : 1
„ —Sipahi : 1
Arab—Unspecified : 1
Asar—Asa : 1
„ —Darwesh : 1
Awindsaz—Awindsaz : 1
Bafanda—Bafanda : 2
Bafanda—Bafanda : 2
Bafanda—Qasseb : 1
Bahigir—Bahigir : 2
Baz Qassab—Baz Qassab : 13
Baz Qassab—Qabfarosh : 1
Bohra—Bohra : 2
Charmdaz—Charmdaz : 2
Chhippa—Chhippa : 5
Chhippa—Bafanda : 1
„ —Unspecified : 1
Dabhoia—Unspecified : 3
Darwesh—Darwesh : 1
Dastarband—Dastarband : 2
Dastarband—Rangrez : 1
Dhobi—Dhobi : 3
Faqir—Shaikh : 1
Kagazi—Bafanda : 1

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Khan—Syed : 1
„ —Shaikh : 1
„ —Khan : 2
„ —Unspecified : 1
Kharwa—Kharwa : 5
Kishtiban—Kishtiban : 1
„ —Unspecified : 1
Mahgir—Mahgir : 1
Malik—Malik : 11
„ —Sipahi : 11
—Unspecified : 4
Mamer—Mamer : 2
„ —Unspecified : 1
Mazdoor—Mazdoor :1
„ —Unspecified : 1
Subedar Mughal—Sipahi : 1
Mundhia—Mundhia :1
„ —Shaikh : 2
„ —Unspecified : 2
Nagori—Nagori : 2
Patel—Kharwa : 1
Patel Qiledar—Nagori : 1
Rangrez—Unspecified : 1
Sabzifarosh—Unspecified : 1
Sidi—Unspecified : 1
Sindhi—Sindhi : 3
„ —Unspecified : 1
Shah—Darwesh : 1
Shaikh—Shaikh : 12
„ —Syed : 2
„ —Khan : 1
„ —Faqir : 1
„ —Bafanda : 1
„ —Unspecified : 6
„ —Memon : 1
Sipahi—Sipahi : 20
„ —Syed : 1
„ —Shaikh : 2
„ —Mughal : 1
„ —Khan : 1
„ —Malik : 1
„ —Mundbia : 1
„ —Chobdar : 1
„ —Darwesh : 1
„ —Unspecified : 15
Syed—Syed : 5
Syed—Shaikh : 1
„ —Unspecified : 2
Unspecified—Shaikh : 4
Najaf—Najaf : 4
Panjnigara—Panjnigara : 3
Patel—Patel : 10
Unspecified—Sipahi
„ —Malek : 1
„ —Darwesh : 1
„ —Chobdar : 1
„ Unspecified : 15

Widow Remarriage:
Afghan—Convert : 1
Darwesh—Darwesh : 3
„ —Unspecified : 1
Dastarband—Shaikh : 1
„ —Unspecified : 1
Khan—Shaikh : 2
Mahfarosh—Unspecified : 1
Mahgir—Convert : 1
Mazdoor—Faqir : 1
„ —Shaikh : 1
„ —Unspecified : 1
Mundhia—Syed : 1
„ —Mundhia : 2
„ —Unspecified : 1
Unspecified—Patel : 1
„ —Syed : 1
„ —Shah : 1
Najaf—Najaf : 3
Panjingar—Nagori : 1
Patel—Patel : 3
Shaikh—Shaikh : 1
„ —Unspecified : 2
Sipahi—Sipahi : 1
„ —Shaikh : 1
„ —Garasia : 1
„ —Unspecified : 1
Unspecified—Convert : 1
„ —Mazin : 1
„ —Unspecified. : 3

Divorce Remarriage:
Sipahi—Unspecified : 1
Shaikh—Sipahi :1

Several facts of interest emerge from this analysis :

1. The enumeration of caste-name as given in the records is not very clear. Moreover, the blanket surname Shaikh conceals a number of actual castes.

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2. There are a number of castes which intermarry, for instance, the Sipahis, which actually are a polyglot group, without definite caste links. Partly they are descendants of immigrants and partly of Rajput agrarian castes and have a wide circle of marriage. Similar is the case with a number of occupational and sea-faring communities like the Bahigirs and Mahfarosh.

3. Among communities with a greater degree of caste affiliation, there is a lesser incidence of marriages outside the community. For instance, the Patels record ten marriages within the community, two outside and only one Patel girl given presumably outside, for the caste affiliation of the bridegroom is not given.

4. The marriage of 'true' Syed and 'true' Shaikh is indicated by the higher *mehr*. In two Syed marriages, when both the parties are Syeds, the *mehr* is fixed at Rs. 750 and Rs. 5,000. Where the *mehr* fixed is the usual Rs. 127, it is not certain if the party was a 'true' Syed.

5. This record is by no means a complete one. There is no mention of several important communities like the Baluchis, Ghanchi, Memon, Tai and others. It seems that only a fraction of the total marriages were recorded—and those which were recorded were marginal and exceptional cases than otherwise.

6. The caste-identification was taken as the basis of social recognition and a man was known by his *qaum* and locality. Often, the *qaum* is loosely interpreted to mean even occupational grouping but the importance is given to this label was great.

7. Up to this time, occasional Bohra marriages were also registered with the *Qazis*, though they were Sunnis.

8. The Muslim population in Bharuch till then contained a great deal of floating element owing to its being a port. Thus two of the three convert marriages were of parties which came there from Bombay and Baroda for the legitimization of an earlier alliance. This also accounts for the high degree of inter-caste marriages.

9. A number of communities are occupational ones like Dastarband, Qassab; Najaf, Panjnigar. But it seems wrong to designate a *qaum*, (if this word is intended to be a sophisticated euphemism for the Gujarati word, *nyat*) by the term *mazdoor* or labourer. It seems doubtful if there was a caste like that.

10. It seems that caste endogamy was paid greater attention in the first marriage of the girl and the boy, it was not that strictly observed when a widow remarried. The reason for this appears to be that the connexions forged by these marriages were less significant than the original ones and very often these were marriages of convenience rather than of social significance.

A systematic study of these records, especially if drawn from different centres like Navasari, Surat, Bharuch, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Godhra and Palanpur in the mainland and Junagadh in the peninsula can yield valuable results.

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CHAPTER 9

SOCIAL CHANGE IN RECENT YEARS

THE CASTE pattern of social stratification finds little ideological support in Islamic theory, as has been pointed out before. The absence of this support has resulted in an ambivalent attitude: while the social fact of birth-determined group has been accepted and upheld, it has been possible for individual families to transcend this frontier with relative ease, compared to the Hindu system. The social mobility from ' lower ' to ' higher ' groups has therefore been greater and status as determined by wealth, political power and also its corollaries like sophisticated education has been a powerful level in the process of social rise.

Not only have individual families risen in the social spectrum but communities as a whole have also succeeded in improving their position by becoming prosperous and by adapting their behaviour pattern and norms to a higher group. Social rise has therefore required not only an accretion of wealth but also a modification in the traditional system of customs and manners and the behaviour pattern.

The impact of an economic movement and attendant political processes has also affected the Muslim communities in recent years by introducing new dimensions in social and religious consciousness. The impingement of Islam on the social system is being seen in a new light; the validity of little culture, in certain strata is being questioned. The permeation of the country by reformers urging purism has had its effects in the changes that have come about.

For instance, individual Muslims and communal organizations have, in recent times, made a deliberate effort to mould their lives according to what has been conceived of as the Islamic ideal. This ideal, though necessarily ethical, has not been exclusively interpreted in moral terms; external practices and apparent behaviour have been necessarily viewed as more important than individual conduct and the more esoteric elements of beliefs. This may sound like a dichotomy between thought and practice but actually this is not so. People may not become better ' Muslims ' or better men in religious or moral terms but the quantum of practices which are, or are felt to be, Islamic goes up in daily life.

The attempt to rise in the social scale by adopting a higher way of life is not the only motive in this effort. Equally important is the desire to live up to the obligations of the faith. Punctilious discharge of religious obligations has been viewed as a symbolic indicator of position as well as a highly personalized value.

This effort has led to a number of results; a tendency to eliminate manners

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and customs felt to be un-Islamic; a loosening, and in rarer cases to a rejection, of the community system; to a greater sense of obligation in regard to the discharge of prayers and fasts; to changes in dress; and finally, to a more intense awareness of belonging to a Muslim society and therefore a greater allergy to real or fancied slights or benefits to it.

Another process which is close but slightly differs in its motivation is reflected in the desire to reform the traditional social system so as to adapt it to meet the modern conditions and the demands of the present-day situation. This may broadly be referred to as Rationalization—a term as awkward as Islamization but which to some extent indicates the process suggested. Essentially, both are reformist processes, aiming to eradicate customs which have acquired a negative value—while in the former case, the practice is judged on the touchstone of Islam, in the latter the criterion becomes its feasibility and suitability in the context of the present. This, for instance, characterizes a move towards better community organization; towards the eradication of wasteful expenditure in *bism-i'llah* and marriage ceremonies; fixation of *mehr* at a definite figure; and in certain communities like the Bohras, the demand for a more popular administrative system. The main intention is to give the individual a fairer deal within the traditional pattern and also to prevent the community pattern from cracking under the pressure of modern life.

The third process is a relatively sophisticated process which is operative at a social level which is more or less prosperous and imbibes Western influences directly from the universities and other teaching institutions and governmental and industrial organizations. This may be referred to as Westernization, the third of an awkward trio of terms. Westernization refers to not merely exposure to modern methods of publicity and propaganda and the influence of modern life as it is lived in the present day India but also to the imbibing of certain Western values and culture traits by the individual. It can take various shapes. It may lead to extreme orthodoxy defended by Western logic; to the retention as well as the rejection of *purdah*; to an adoption of European style living but the retention of traditional culture patterns; towards greater Islamization by the rejection of the traditional social stratification. Simultaneously, it operates to rationalize the communal system and to create a network of modernized institutions like colleges, schools, co-operative societies. In brief, in its most extreme form, it may mean a rejection of faith though this is very rare and we have only literary evidence of it, in certain cases. More commonly, it can lead to greater Islamization in certain spheres of life though certain features of it are no longer observed.

A characteristic instance can be cited in the case of *purdah*. *Purdah* is not so intense in urban centres of Gujarat as it is in most north Indian towns and to some degree the trend is towards relaxation. But in common opinion, it is held as a value and the free mixing of young people is frowned upon. Invari-

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ably, the articles in the Muslim Gujarati press deplore the tendency towards greater fashion found in the more prosperous Muslim families.

This conservative attitude is prevalent among almost all the communities which have undergone a degree of both rationalization and Islamization. In fact, a greater Islamization tends to emphasize the movement towards *purdah*, rather than away from it, for conservatism in Islam holds it as a positive value. Its more serious challenge therefore, comes neither from a desire towards greater rationalization or Islamization but from Westernized outlook which can develop only in a certain economic sphere.

Thus progressive Khojah, Sulaimani and other families have to a great extent discarded the *purdah*. Amongst a great many other urban communities, it is not observed strictly, especially outside homes. But at a certain level, especially in the middle class, it is being observed with more care. Therefore it is an example where Westernization is directly in opposition to the other two processes.

While Westernization is a relatively recent process, the other two have been older ones. Under Mahmud Shah Begada, in the sixteenth century, attempts were made to enlighten peripheral communities in Saurashtra which were only nominally Muslim.[1] The main attempt of Pir Mashaikh, to whom reference has been made earlier, was to make his people give up all non-Islamic practices and beliefs and adopt the correct ways. The conflict between the 'Great' and the 'Little' Cultures has been a long process mainly owing to the fact that the bulk of the Muslim communities were converts from Hinduism and even foreign communities suffered indigenization to some extent. It was here that both the *ulema* and the *pirs*, mostly the former, played a notable part, as the main leaders of popularizing the purer form of Islam.

Thus though emphasized in recent times, Islamization is an old process, evident not only in India but also in other countries where Islam formed a symbiotic relationship with the established cultures. In India however, especially, in Gujarat, Muslim communities have existed in an overwhelmingly Hindu environment, within a cultural and ideational framework which was predominantly Hindu. Thus caste awareness has always been keen and while religion was felt as a distinguishing factor and also as a unifying force, its awareness as a predominantly social and cultural unit has been more intensely felt in recent times.

These processes may be briefly examined in relation to their impact on manners and customs, law and dress.

During the centuries the Muslim communities have lived in Gujarat, their ways, manners and customs have to a great extent become indigenized. This

[1] *The Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 127.

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was, as noted earlier, particularly true of the foreign Muslim communities which came from outside. Most of them speak any other language except Gujarati with difficulty and even when Urdu is commonly spoken and understood as the home language, it is very heavily tinged with Gujarati words and inflexions. Agrarian communities settled in Bharuch and Kaira like the Pathans have customs indistinguishable from those of other Muslim and even Hindu communities. Divorce is relatively very rare, child marriages were till recently common and widow remarriage virtually unknown. In the marriage registers of the *Qazi* of Bharuch pertaining to the middle fifties of the last century, one of which was examined as a sample, first marriages took place before the girl was fourteen and the boy eighteen, in some cases going as low as five and nine.[2]

Indigenization so far as language alone was concerned was less in urbanized communities like the Shaikhs and Syeds but in other cases, they succumbed to these influences; only their self-awareness in being the leaders of an Islamic community kept their speech relatively pure and their Persian and Arabic fluency coupled with their extra-Gujarati contacts kept their diction in Urdu unaffected.

This process of indigenization brought the two wings of the Muslims, the older foreign Muslims and the new indigenous communities, closer. The urge to indoctrinate the new convert was there but even here we find the Shi'a Isma'ili preachers being content with a mere acknowledgement of the faith and sometimes not even that, for instance, in the syncretism of the Khojahs and the eclecticism of the Pirana-panthis. Most of the communities agrarian and traditional, retained their social structure while adding a smattering of the new faith to their cultural make-up. At this time, it is difficult to say actually how deep their Islamization was. Fasts were probably kept and circumcision carried out and *namaz*, as far as its correct procedure was known, read by the more pious. But that was possibly about all.

The fact of conversion was significant in forming a new community outside the Hindu pale but it made little difference in the social stratification and cultural patterns of the neo-Muslim communities. In course of time, the descendants of the original missionaries, now *pirzadas* or spiritual preceptors, also lost the fervour of their predecessors and looked upon their followers more as a source of revenue than as a people to be guided into the Islamic way. Their own attainments in the meanwhile came down. Thus Islamization of these communities was hardly begun—and it was met more than half-way by the indigenization of the foreign Muslim communities, very often their own preceptors, who by degrees surrendered to the usage of the land.

Personal law reflected this process of indigenization to a considerable extent. The bulk of the communities retained their customary law until recently and

[2] Supra 155-6.

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this retention was not due to ignorance as was made out by reform societies and zealots but mirrored the pattern of rights and duties, the structural organization of the family and the extended lineage as it was fashioned by traditional and accepted usage.[3] The logic of Islamic law was felt to run contrary to the logic of the family's structural organization.

The basic conflict centred in the laws of succession. The traditional organization of the family was based on the agnatic patrilineal pattern which excluded women from succession. The law court recognized this fact: in a Bombay High Court judgement, Lord Dunedin remarked in 1922: " There are among the Mahomedans certain groups whose ancestors were Hindus and professed the Hindu religion and were then converted to Islam. Among these groups may be reckoned, as is shown by decided cases, Khojahs, Sunni Bohras, Molesalam Girasias, Cutchi Memons, Nassaora Memons—and lastly the Halai Memons, to which groups the deceased belonged. Now with regard to the Halai Memons, it has been held by a succession of cases beginning with a case decided by Sir E. Perry in 1847, that the converts had retained their Hindu law relating to the exclusion of females from succession and that that law had been engrafted as a custom on the Mohammedan law although not in accordance with the Koran. "[4]

This exclusion of the daughters from succession was a corollary, as we have remarked above, of the traditional organization of the family. In rural areas, where land was held more as family and lineage property rather than as an individual right, this was further emphasized. Not only was the application of Muslim law resented by large land-owning Muslim Rajput families which held large estates in Bharuch, Kaira and elsewhere but also poorer agrarian communities like the Sunni Vohras, Maleks, Patani Vohras and even Pathan community of Bharuch.

The threat to the customary usage of the Muslim communities, as will be noted, began with the expansion of British power in Gujarat and with it the systematization, codification and uniform application of personal law. Earlier than that customary law was applied to all cases of special communities and mostly such cases did not come up to the *Qazi's* courts in major urban centres. " In the absence of codes, customary law naturally played a great part ", writes M. B. Ahmad in his *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*. " The customs and practices of the inhabitants of India were too deep rooted for interference so that a large number of Muslim converts carried with them into the Muslim fold traditions which ran counter to the tenets of Islam. For instance, in the greater part of the Punjab, females were and are excluded from inheritance

[3] Talal Asad, in his study of the Muslim family in Punjab makes this point in *Some Aspects of Change in the Structure of the Muslim family in the Punjab under British Rule*. Unpublished B.Litt. thesis in Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford University, Oxford. Introduction.

[4] Quoted in Sir George Rankin, " Custom and the Muslim Law in British India, " *Transactions of the Grotius Society*, Vol. XXV (1940), 89-117.

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in the villages in spite of the specific provisions of the 'Shara' to the contrary.... History tells us that there have not been lacking attempts to regard the '*urf*' as one of the roots of *Fiqh* or Muslim jurisprudence and thus to reconcile the rigidity of law with local requirements."[5]

With the establishment of British rule, and the application of codified law by a bureaucratic administrative organization, custom came to be regarded with disfavour. Yet it was too deeply entrenched in the countryside to be disregarded and the policy of the Government after the middle of the nineteenth century was to leave such spheres alone, as far as possible. Moreover, the large land-owning classes, on whom the British power depended very greatly for support, required the application of customary law not Muslim law for their own purpose, for, the latter would have disrupted their family organization. Hence, while Muslim law came to be applied with increasing frequency in the case of ordinary urban population, the realm of custom, as far as it affected land rights and special communities, was not disturbed.

This objection to the application of Muslim law was based upon several factors. There was no provision in Muslim law for undivided families of the Hindu pattern which happened to be the prevailing system in most of these landed interests and special communities. Proprietary rights were seen as being vested in the individual and succession was fashioned accordingly. It provided property rights and succession to women in their own rights which militated against the male agnatic sequence in which these rights were held. It took away the testamentary rights which was an important consideration for trading communities. In brief, by substituting an individual ethos in place of the corporate one and by providing succession to women, Muslim law endangered the postulates on which proprietary rights and family organization had been founded.

The movement against the eradication of custom was in itself a movement for the greater Islamization of the Muslim people which sought to eradicate the foreign accretions into the Muslim fold. The growing Islamic awareness of a number of Muslim communities which supported this movement, coupled with the volatile political situation in the twenties and the thirties of this century, when these movements gained momentum, led to the passage of the Shariat Act of 1937 which abrogated custom to a very great extent. In itself, the result of a movement from greater Islamization, this Act served as one of the most powerful levers for this movement.

Yet with significant reservations which deserve to be noted. It can be seen that the main conflict between custom and Muslim law arose with regard to succession, for, here was a point of serious divergence and one which affected the family organization. With its characteristic caution, the British Govern-

[5] Ahmad, M. B., *Administration of Justice in Medieval India* (Muslim University, Aligarh, 1941) 73-4.

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ment placed the entire orbit of agricultural land beyond the purview of this Act, thus allaying the fears of powerful landed interests. Also continued was the power of testamentary succession enjoyed by certain communities like Khojahs and Memons. The Shariat Act was not to apply automatically to these communities in matters of succession; only by a deliberate declaration, filed before a court of law, could an individual so governed, place himself under Muslim law.[6]

The protection afforded to agricultural property thus shielded the agrarian communities from a direct application of Muslim law in matters of succession and consequently from a disruption of family structure. This exception has been welcomed even by those families that have become highly Islamized. Equally welcome has been the right of adoption given again to certain land-owning communities, a right which is not recognized by Muslim law.

The recent legislations which have virtually ended the former taluqdari, and other land-owning and landlord rights have again served as an Islamizing factor in as much as they have removed one of the major factors which led to the insistence on custom in preference to Islamic law. Further, recent tenancy laws have also made transfer of agricultural land difficult, especially to non-cultivating interests by providing an abiding right to the person cultivating a piece of land, irrespective of ownership. While these laws have had little on communities which are primarily or mainly cultivating, its impact on those which were primarily non-cultivating but land-owning has been obvious.

The gradual displacement of the traditional system has also had its effects on beliefs, especially religious beliefs, in certain communities. With the replacement of customary law and practice with a more legal pattern, the customary non-Islamic beliefs have also been yielding place to those which are more or less orthodox.

The change is obvious in the Isma'ili community. "The Khojahs (Indian followers of the Aga Khan) who call their imam, 'Maulana Hazar Imam' went a step further and under the instruction of Pir Sadr-u'd-din declared the imam to be an incarnation of the God Vishnu. This is embodied in an authoritative doctrinal test *Das-Avatar* (Ten Incarnations)....The Aga Khan case ...establishes that this is the official doctrine of the Isma'ili Khojahs, but certainly most of the Isma'ili would not subscribe to this creed in its literal sense and are aligning themselves increasingly with the orthodox Muslim creed. They assert that these are mystical statements, proclaiming the greatness of Mawlana 'Ali, and we must not probe further into such secret mysteries. The fact is that the majority know little of their own faith and are rapidly coming within the periphery of orthodox Islam."[7] It may be doubted if the change is

[6] Tyabji, F. B., *Muhammedan Law*, 59-117. These pages contain a comprehensive discussion of this aspect of Muslim law, its application and its limitations.

[7] Fyzee, A. A. A., "Shi'ite Legal Theories," in Khadduri and Liebesny, *Law in the Middle East*, 117-9.

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widespread or real but the tendency is certainly there.

In fact, this shift away from the traditional syncretic belief is also reflected in the Hindu followers of the Isma'ili *pirs*, known as the Pirana-panthis. During the second and third decades of this century, an overwhelming majority of the Matia Kanbi community in Kacchh turned away from their traditional beliefs and went over to the orthodox Swami Narayan cult.

A similar tendency is apparent among the large agrarian Momna community of north Gujarat which till recently had been, almost *en masse*, a follower of the descendants of Pir Mashaikh. Again as in the Pirana-panthis, a movement began with the emigres in Bombay, moving away from the *pirs*. A great number went over to Sunnism and came under the influence of Deoband-trained *maulwis*; a school at Chhapi in north Gujarat is the centre of their missionary movement. Many of them have also adopted the Ithna-Ashari form of Shiism. In both the cases, the authority of the *pir* has been rejected in favour of a doctrine which has been seen to be closer to the purer form of Islam.

These movements, it will be noted, are distinct, from those which strive for reform within the established system. Here there is a definite rejection of a traditional system of beliefs as false or insufficient and the adoption of another which is more in line with orthodox thinking. The reformist trends can be found within all of these systems—the Pirana-panthis, Khojahs and Momnas—as among others, but they do not dispute the basic tenets of the faith.

Customs represented to a high degree the process of indigenization undergone by the Muslim communities, even foreign ones. In birth, and more in marriage, a blend of Hindu and Muslim customs had characterized the Muslims of Gujarat. As among the Hindus, the expectant mother was supposed to guard against a number of evil influences, for instance, during an eclipse. The *satwansa* or the seventh month ceremonies were common to both. During marriage, married women who had not lost their husbands, *suhagans*, were at a premium; only they could prepare the *ubatana* or the ritual prophylactic for the bride and the bridegroom and participate in the more esoteric and symbolic rites, like tying the bridal *kangana* or bracelet. Also common, till recently, was the second marriage ceremony according to Hindu rites performed among the Rajput Muslim communities. Simultaneously, Hindu festivals like *rakhi*, in which the sister tied a symbolic bracelet around her brother's wrist, were also observed, especially among the Rajputs.

Many of these practices, we were informed were being given up. The second marriage ceremony is relatively very rare now. The *mandwa* or the pavilion for marriage is still constructed but the more obvious Hindu customs like the use of turmeric in public ceremonies, is gradually becoming obsolete. It is increasingly common to insist on what is felt to be the simple Islamic form of marriage.

Examples of this change are found in different spheres. Thus among the

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Memons, in Borsad, the earlier practice for the bridegroom's party was to proceed with music and band to the bride's place; now this is done with the recitation of *mauhud sharif*, or religious discourses. The Sama Pathans of Gujarat have given up the practice of distributing *methi* made sweets on the occasion of the first child being born, for it was felt that under Islamic dispensation, even the father should not be aware of the condition of his wife while this custom advertised this fact to the whole community. The custom of wailing publicly and beating breasts at death is now, in most places, a thing of the past.

The reform in the customs also is a result of the tensions felt in the community within recent years owing to the rising cost of living as also of the rising Islamic consciousness among them. The community organizations like the *jama'ts* have been instrumental in getting this reform going, justifying their opposition to the traditional pattern by referring to the simplicity and purity of Islamic doctrines. In many cases, therefore, it is not Islamization alone but also the rationalization of customs that is effected, thereby enabling the community to face its problem better.

Nevertheless, this urge has been unable to affect the more integrated mores of the communities to any great extent. Among the Pathans, there is no widow remarriage and no divorce; both of these practices are allowed among the Memons in the same locality and the Pathans realize that this is an anomaly for these practices are perfectly legitimate and valid according to Islamic ethics. Consequently, the ban is traditional and non-Islamic and deserves to be abandoned. Despite this awareness, the community is not prepared for this change for it is implies a fundamental break which would affect the social structure of the community.

Thus, the urge for reform is stronger in regard to externals rather than those spheres which concern the more vital and cultural structure of the community. Outward ceremonial in which not only family members but also outsiders take part has been affected first. Thus, costly and frequent marriage and other dinners have been discouraged. Less disturbed have been the more intimate rites which are confined to the household and those factors which are basic to the family structure and internal relationships. Thus, the sphere of law especially succession law, in certain communities has not been disturbed and divorce and widow remarriages have continued to be infrequent.

Simultaneously, the impact of change has varied from area to area and from community to community, depending upon its exposure to present-day influences. Among literate communities, middle class and lower middle class, the urge for reform is relatively strong; among the poorer, more backward, rural and craftsman communities, it is weaker. In Kacchh, the hold of tradition can be felt to be stronger and the urge for reform weaker, except in the pastoral, cattle-rearing tribes in the Runn. In towns, it is relatively more strong than in the countryside.

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Dress patterns have undergone a remarkable change in the last half a century. Here again, differences can be observed from area to area and from community to community. Generally, it may be said that the trend is towards the adoption of a dress pattern that is felt to be Islamic.

Before the change began to take shape, the dress of a number of Muslim communities was indistinguishable from that of their Hindu neighbours. The only exceptions were the foreign Muslim communities which brought their own dress patterns with them and, to a large extent, retained it. Even today, the dress of a north Gujarat Momna is indistinguishable from that of any other peasant; only occasionally does a Momna woman put on the close-fitting trouser-like *suthni* characteristic of a Muslim woman. Among the Dudhwalas, the *dhoti* was common till about twenty-five years ago and even today, the older people can be seen wearing it. Among others too, for instance the Nagoris, it is not unusual to find the older men and women wearing the high *safa* or the headgear and the *dhoti*, the mark of the craftsman communities.

In urban areas, these traditional dresses have given place to the simpler shirt, pyjamas and cap for the men, and coloured pyjama, embroidered at the bottom, a low *kamiz* or frock reaching down below the knee and an *odhni*, for women. In conservative communities or where *purdah* is strictly observed, a *burqah* or a head to foot veil, is put over this *ensemble*.

In trading communities like the Khojahs, Bohras and the Memons who were reported to be having the Hindu dress for women nearly half a century or so before, the shift to the more Islamic pattern has been virtually complete. In others it is not so complete; for instance, among the Khatris, the women wear sari or *lahanga* or *ghagri*. In north Kacchh, which is arid and close to Sind, the Sindhi pattern of dress is more in vogue; every man carries a home-spun sheet on his shoulder and dresses in a *lungi*, low *kurta*, a short towel-like headgear and stout, indigenous shoes.

Dress has easily been influenced by the growing fact of Islamization because it is easily changeable without affecting the deeper mores of the individual and also because, being visual, it was seen as an index of the process. In turn, the 'Islamic' pattern is giving way, among younger men and women, to the modern one. The shirt and trousers or the bush-shirt and trousers have as a rule been adopted by younger men, especially in the salaried and employed classes. Among women, the sari is coming back into vogue.

The typical Gujarati Muslim dress for women is also not generally used by the upper, wealthier class women who either wear the sari or the *salwar kameez*, typical of north Indian Muslims. As such, to some extent, the dress patterns also reflect the economic and educational status. The adoption of the north Indian pattern and of the European style dress is becoming more common among men in the upper brackets and in urban centres. This preference increases with the greater Westernization of the community; at a certain educational and economic level, differences in dress cease to exist between the Hindus and the Muslims.

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The desire for greater Islamization is also reflected in the linguistic and educational patterns which have been emphasized in the recent past.

As has been noted before, almost all Muslim in Gujarat speak Gujarati with fluency and Urdu with a varying degree of ease. Among the most fluent are the Syeds and other foreign Muslim communities who speak Urdu as the first language and Gujarati as the second. Amongst others like Patani Vohras and Tais, in the Urdu they speak as the first language, the Gujarati imprint is so heavy (except for some words) that it appears almost indistinguishable from Gujarati.

Being the language of the Islamized elite and also because it is nearer to the languages in which the Islamic sacred lore is couched, Urdu has come to be regarded as one of the indices of Islamization. It has also been advocated as a factor of Muslim unity and in actual fact, before and after partition, there was a strong movement urging the Muslims to declare Urdu as their mother tongue in the census questions. The result has been a greater awareness of Urdu as a peculiarly Islamic language and an effort on the part of average Muslims to speak it with reasonable degree of purity and competence.

It will be noted that peculiarly enough, this competence is limited to speech alone. Of the very many people who speak the patois which passes for Urdu, only a fraction can read it; Urdu books are printed with Gujarati letters in order to become accessible to the Gujarati public. In this way, it is common to find road-side bookstalls selling cheap Urdu books in Gujarati characters dealing with the basic obligations of the faith like *namaz* and *roza*, legendary biographies of venerated saints and sometimes Urdu *ghazals*, and short stories. No Urdu magazine is published in Gujarati though there are at least three weeklies from Surat, Ahmedabad and Bombay and a score of monthlies, intended for the Gujarati speaking Muslim public.

Religious education has naturally been a tremendous aid to greater religious awareness. Gujarat has not remained unaffected by the movements which are agitating the Indian Muslims like the Deobandi and the Barelvi movements, and which seek to form widely differing attitudes. But in both cases, the education of the young in the fundamentals of religion has been considered an indispensable prerequisite.

Within the last decade, it has been said, that though no clear figures are available, the number of religious madrasahs in Baroda has more than doubled. These madrasahs are modest establishments intended to train young children in their basic duties and sometimes to give them reading knowledge of the *Qur'an*. For those intending to pursue higher courses, leading to qualifications for such schools, there are advanced ones in Dabhel, Rander and Chhapi and finally, the Dar-u'l-ulum in Deoband.

Elementary religious education as conducted by the majority of such schools is either a pre-school course or conducted in addition to the normal schooling a child has to undergo in ordinary school. This is true generally for the better-class boys who can afford a high school education; for poorer ones,

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such education alone is the preliminary before a job is taken, or before he goes to a more advanced madrasah of the similar type.

Almost as a rule, this education, even when given through the medium of Gujarati, lays emphasis on Urdu but teaches it as one of the languages. Ordinarily, the knowledge of Urdu thus gained is not very deep and prolonged lack of contact with it leads to its growing dim. The teachers, especially the more qualified among them, are trained in Deoband, Bareli and Lucknow and are much in demand for *wa'iz* or religious discourses, frequently held in mosques, after the late evening prayers. And since generally the tenor of their speeches is an appeal to eradicate undesirable customs and to mould both culture and life according to the Islamic ideal, they serve as agents for Islamization.

The social significance of Islamization is one of the important factors leading to it and with other things has been responsible for speeding up the process.

As in other societies, there have been attempts at upward movement among the Muslim communities and since the Syeds have occupied the apex of the social order, this has led to an effort of individual families to pass off as Syeds. This, as noticed elsewhere, has led in the past, to the ranks of Syeds—and also of Shaikhs, where the distinction wears thin—being filled with immigrants from outside.

The road uphill had to be climbed under certain conditions. A relative degree of affluence was the first prerequisite. No social rise was possible under penury or in an economic condition which was the same as one's compeers. The next was to secure suitable connexions, hypergamous as well as the ones which could serve as levers for status-rise. A judicious marriage of daughters with well-endowed dowries was one such device. Third was a degree of Islamic sophistication not only in speech and behaviour but also in manners and customs. Given these, the fluid caste-system of Islam permitted individual families to rise high in the social scale, especially in towns.

The process has been accelerated rather than hampered in the recent past, with all the challenges being faced by the traditional system, especially the gradual impoverishment of the beneficiaries of that order. In the upper and wealthier circles, it is becoming more frequent to fix status by the newer touchstones of economic, educational and professional standards, though the original affiliations of the family cannot be completely overlooked.

While individual families have thus gone up in the social scale, it has also been possible for entire communities to rise as a result of the prosperity which has been widespread in it as a whole. A significant example of this is the Sunni Vohra community which till half a century back was predominantly an agrarian one but is now a flourishing trading community with large connexions overseas. In its way of life and social status, a veritable revolution has been effected. A closer study of the changing culture and social patterns of this

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community during the last half a century would reveal the close relationship existing between economic prosperity and social rise as also between this and cultural change, particularly Islamization.

This upward trend is possible mainly in those communities which can be said to be mainly agrarian and not associated with any definite craft or occupation. Thus, very little of the desire or opportunity for this rise is found in the service communities like the Dhobi or the Bhoi. It is very doubtful if a member of this community, even though affluent, would be acceptable as an equal by upper caste members in their intimate group, though he may become a man of consequence.

Thus the trends can be said to be two-fold: first the rise of individual families in the social scale and their effort to break through the barriers to get into the realm of the higher groups. To such efforts, does the sarcastic Persian coupiet refer: " Last year we were butchers, now we have become Shaikhs: if the grain continues cheap this year, next year we'll be Syeds. " In the next category is the rise of an entire community, mainly through economic betterment, accompanied by cultural change which places the community as a whole in an advantageous position *vis-a-vis* other people and forces them to recognize its improved status.

Generally, a community, if its cohesion is fairly strong, retains its character even after it has effected an improvement in its social and economic status. Thus the Sunni Vohras, commonly known as Patel, have not by and far adopted any eponymic titles like Ansari or Quresh or blanket designations like Shaikh. Also, they have by and far retained their endogamous character. In some ways they resemble the trading communities like the Memons though they are not so exclusively wedded to trade as the Memons and can be said to be more dispersed in their occupations.

Among poorer sections, the desire for social improvement and Islamization is indicated by the adoption of either a mythical eponymic designation like the Shaikh, Ansari, Qureshi or the like and an effort to live a more Islamic life. But in this case again, there is no attempt to transcend the community as a marriage circle and the fact of the caste is accepted as the basic framework of social life.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

Kinship Terms :

	Gujarati speaking	*Urdu speaking*
Father	*Bapa, Bapu*	*Bawa, Abba, Abbajan*
Mother	*Ba, Ma*	*Amman, Ammijan*
Elder brother	*Mota-bhai*	*Bade bhai*
Elder brother's wife	*Bhabhi, Bhawaj*	*Bhabhijan, ammi-bhawaj*
Brother's son	*Bhatrija, bhatrijo*	*Bhatija*
Elder sister	*Ben, Motiben*	*Bahen, apa*
Sister's husband	*Mota-bhai, banewi*	*Bahnoi, bhai-jan*
Sister's son	*Bhanej*	*Bhanja*
Sister's daughter	*Bhanji*	*Bhaneji*
Son	*Chhokaro*	*Ladka, beta*
Son's wife	*Wahu, wa'u*	*Bahu*
Son's daughter	*Potari*	*Potari*
Daughter	*Chhokari*	*Ladaki, beti*
Daughter's husband	*Jama'i*	*Jama'i, damad*
Daughter's son	*Navaso*	*Navaso*
Daughter's daughter	*Navasi*	*Navasi*
Father's brother (Elder)	*Mota Chacha*	*Bade Abba*
Father's brother (Younger)	*Chacha*	*Chacha, Chacha-jan*
Father's brother's wife (Younger)	*Chachi*	*Chachi, Chachijan*
Father's sister	*Phui*	*Phuppijan*
Father's Father	*Dada*	*Dada-jan, dada-abba*
Father's Mother	*Dadi-ma*	*Dadi-amman*
Father's brother's or sister's son or daughter	As for brother or sister in equivalent position as *chachero bhai*	As in the Gujarati i.e. *chacha-zad bhai*
Mother's brother	*Mama*	*Mamujan*
Mother's brother's wife	*Mami*	*Mumanijan*
Mother's sister	*Maasi*	*Khala, Khalajan, Khala-amman*
Mother's sister's husband	*Masa*	*Khalu-abba*
Mother's father	*Mota-bawa*	*Nana-abba, nana-jan, nana-abba*
Mother's brother's or sister's son or daughter	As for brother or sister in equivalent position i.e. *maaseri ben*	As in Gujarati, as *khalu-zad bahen*
Wife	*Bayadi, Wahu, wa'u aurat*	*Bibi, bibi-aurat*
Wife's father	*Sasara, bawa*	*Susar, Khusar, abbajan*
Wife's mother	*Sasu-ma*	*Sasu, ammijan*
Wife's brother	*Salo-bhai*	*Sala-bhai*
Wife's brother's wife	*Sala-ni wahu*	*Sale ki bibi, bhabijan*
Wife's brother's son or daughter	As for brother's son or daughter	As in Gujarati
Wife's sister's son or daughter	As for sister's son or daughter	As in Gujarati

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Husband	*Dhani, Adami*	*Khawind, Mian*
Husband's father	*Sasaro*	*Susara, Khusar*
Husband's mother	*Sasu-man*	*Sas, Khush-daman*
Husband's elder brother	*Jeth*	*Jeth*
Husband's elder brother's wife	*Jethani*	*Jethani*
Husband's younger brother	*Devar*	*Devar*
Husband's younger brother's wife	*Derani*	*Derani*
Husband's sister	*Nanad*	*Nanad*
Husband's sister's husband	*Nando'i*	*Nando'i*
Husband's brother's or sister's son or daughter	As in preceding equivalent cases	As in the preceding equivalent cases
Cousin brother (parallel and cross)	*bhai*	*bhai*
Cousin sister (parallel and cross)	*ben*	*bahen* (*apa* if elder)
Fathers-in-law: (Mutual)	*Samadhi*	*Samadhi*
Mothers-in-law: (Mutual)	*Samadhan*	*Samadhin*

TERMS OF ADDRESS:

In cases of older than the ego, the person concerned is addressed with some honorific like *ji*, saheb or *jan* added to the relationship, in Urdu terminology and *bhai* or *ben* in Gujarati. Equals and younger people are addressed by name with the degree of respect or intimacy varying according to the relationship.

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APPENDIX B

List of Muslim Communities in Gujarat

A study of the population records maintained in town and taluqa offices of some of the major towns of mainland Gujarat (excluding Saurashtra) disclosed the existence of the following communities.

1.	Shaikh	: In all districts; mainly Ahmedabad
2.	Sunni Vohra	: In all districts; mainly Bharuch
3.	Pathan	: In all districts; mainly Ahmedabad and Kaira
4.	Momin	: Banaskantha and Sabarkantha
5.	Da'udi Bohra	: In all towns
6.	Ghanchi	: In Baroda, Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad
7.	Malek	: In Baroda, Kaira and Bharuch
8.	Garasia (Molesalam)	: In Baroda and Bharuch
9.	Syed	: In all districts especially Baroda
10.	Fakir	: In Baroda, Bharuch, Kaira and Banaskantha
11.	Musalmans	: Miscellaneous: in all districts
12.	Mansoori	: Ahmedabad, Mehsana and Sabarkantha
13.	Khatki	: In all districts; mostly Ahmedabad
14.	Chhippa	: Ahmedabad
15.	Kadia	: Baroda and Ahmedabad
16.	Sipahi	: Sabarkantha
17.	Tai	: Baroda and Surat
18.	Memon	: In all districts; especially towns
19.	Patel Vohra	: Bharuch and Baroda
20.	Sindhi	: Baroda and Banaskantha
21.	Hajam	: Surat: in all districts in small numbers
22.	Pinjara	: Baroda, Bharuch and Surat
23.	Mughal	: Kaira, Bharuch, Baroda and Ahmedabad
24.	Kasbati	: Mehsana and Baroda
25.	'Alia Vohra	: Baroda
26.	Kumbhar	: Banaskantha
27.	Dudhwala	: Baroda
28.	Baluch	: Banaskantha, Mehsana and Baroda
29.	Makrani	: Baroda, Panch Mahals and Sabarkantha
30.	Behlim	: Banaskantha, Mehsana, Baroda and Kaira
31.	Kureshi	: Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Ahmedabad and Baroda
32.	Mirasi	: Banaskantha, Ahmedabad and Sabarkantha
33.	Khatri	: Baroda, Bharuch and Sabarkantha
34.	Khokhar	: Baroda, Mehsana, Banaskantha, Sabarkantha and Bharuch
35.	Dhobi	: Baroda, Ahmedabad, Banaskantha and Kaira
36.	Jat	: Banaskantha
37.	Nagori	: Banaskantha and Ahmedabad
38.	Khojah	: In all towns
39.	Ghaseora	: Banaskantha
40.	Ghori	: Banaskantha
41.	Multani	: Bharuch and Sabarkantha

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42.	Kasai	:	In small numbers in all districts
43.	Arab	:	Baroda, Ahmedabad and Banaskantha
44.	Bhatti	:	Bharuch and Banaskantha
45.	Bhishti	:	Mehsana, Panch Mahals and Banaskantha
46.	Rangrez	:	Baroda; in small numbers elsewhere
47.	Sumra	:	Banaskantha and Sabarkantha
48.	Sulaimani Vohra	:	Baroda
49.	Khanzada Pathan	:	Baroda; Pandu village
50.	Ranma	:	Banaskantha; Santhalpur pargana
51.	Bhathiara	:	Ahmedabad
52.	Luhars	:	Ahmedabad and Panch Mahals
53.	Nayak	:	Banaskantha; Thorad taluqa
54.	Maniars	:	Baroda; in small numbers elsewhere
55.	Kazi	:	Ahmedabad
56.	Soni	:	Baroda
57.	Suthars	:	Kaira
58.	Silat	:	Banaskantha
59.	Kalaigar	:	Baroda; Baroda City
60.	Nalbandh	:	Ahmedabad
61.	Babi	:	Banaskantha
62.	Mochi	:	Baroda; Sinor and Dabhoi taluqas
63.	Chhakda	:	Panch Mahals; Godhra town
64.	Barot	:	Kaira and Baroda
65.	Sidi	:	Baroda and Kaira
66.	Jamad	:	Banaskantha; Wadgaon taluqa
67.	Bhoi	:	Baroda; Baroda city
68.	Dalmadi	:	Kaira
69.	Marwadi	:	Mehsana
70.	Abdal	:	Baroda, Bharuch, Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad
71.	Madari	:	Banaskantha
72.	Mulla	:	Surat, Mehsana
73.	Kharadi	:	Baroda, Panch Mahals, Mehsana and Banaskantha
74.	Shekhda	:	Baroda
75.	Dhuldhoya	:	Baroda and Sabarkantha
76.	Od	:	Kaira
77.	Der	:	Banaskantha
78.	Banarasi	:	Kaira
79.	Chhuwara	:	Mehsana, Sabarkantha and Banaskantha
80.	Usmani	:	Baroda, Surat and Ahmedabad
81.	Musla	:	Mehsana and Banaskantha
82.	Tantgara	:	Baroda and Mehsana
83.	Daligara	:	Banaskantha
84.	Gandharp	:	Baroda and Mehsana
85.	Naita or Nawaita	:	Surat
86.	Asti	:	Bharuch; Jambusar taluqa
87.	Nilgar	:	Ahmedabad
88.	Javeri	:	Banaskantha
89.	Sikligar	:	Baroda
90.	Teli	:	Ahmedabad and Banaskantha
91.	Kamsara	:	Panch Mahals
92.	Lohani	:	Mehsana and Banaskantha
93.	Bhand	:	Baroda

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94.	Mewati	:	Baroda, Ahmedabad, Mehsana, Sabarkantha and Banaskantha
95.	Baghban	:	Ahmedabad and Banaskantha
96.	Panjnigara	:	Baroda, Bharuch and Mehsana
97.	Sabali	:	Ahmedabad and Sabarkantha
98.	Khilji	:	Bharuch
99.	Morkash	:	Ahmedabad
100.	Darji	:	Baroda, Bharuch, Mehsana and Sabarkantha
101.	Mansi	:	Banaskantha
102.	Rabari	:	Mehsana and Sabarkantha
103.	Kalal	:	Baroda and Mehsana
104.	Kagdi	:	Baroda, Surat, Panch Mahals and Mehsana
105.	Faruqi	:	Surat, Mehsana and Ahmedabad
106.	Ansari	:	Baroda, Ahmedabad and Mehsana
107.	Chopda	:	Ahmedabad City
108.	Hijda	:	Baroda and Ahmedabad
109.	Alabbi	:	Bharuch; Jambusar taluqa
110.	Turk	:	Baroda
111.	Bhil	:	Bharuch
112.	Guliara	:	Baroda
113.	Nagar	:	Baroda
114.	Ghoghar	:	Bharuch and Mehsana
115.	Kharwa	:	Kaira
116.	Awan	:	Baroda and Mehsana
117.	Ghorkhodia	:	Baroda
118.	Gavli	:	Banaskantha
119.	Dhat	:	Mehsana
120.	Beldar	:	Kaira
121.	Deredar	:	Baroda
122.	Gakkar	:	Mehsana
123.	Lodi	:	Mehsana
124.	Miyana	:	Banaskantha and Mehsana
125.	Nakum	:	Baroda
126.	Sindhwa	:	Mehsana
127.	Nat	:	Bharuch
128.	Momna Patidar	:	Baroda and Sabarkantha
129.	Harasi or Havani or Hapani	:	Mehsana
130.	Bhanderi	:	Kaira

These communities have been generally but not always enumerated in the descending order of strength, as revealed by a scrutiny of the population records. Since the records were consulted in only a few centres mentioned later, this enumeration can be no indication, except at best approximately, to their total strength in the region.

Size and Strength of the Communities

It is not possible from the figures collected in this Survey, to judge the relative strength of any community *vis-a-vis* other Muslim communities or the total population as a whole. For, in the first place, only a few towns and taluqas could be taken up and of those a high proportion are in the Baroda division. Secondly, some community appellations are omnibus ones which conceal several different communities, like Shaikhs, while others appear to be nothing more than large family or clan groups belonging to one community.

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Keeping in mind these limitations, the following figures may be of help in approximately fixing the size of the communities: in the order, as given in the preceding, the strength of the communities is as under:

1.	Shaikh	65,000	20.	Sindhi	3,500
2.	Sunni Vohra	52,000	21.	Hajam	3,000
3.	Pathan	23,000	22.	Pinjara	2,700
4.	Momin	22,000	23.	Mughal	2,500
5.	Da'udi Bohra	21,000	24.	Memon	2,200
6.	Ghanchi	19,500	25.	Kasbati	2,000
7.	Malek	19,000	26.	'Alia Vohra	2,000
8.	Garasia	17,000	27.	Kumbhar	2,000
9.	Syed	12,000	28.	Dudhwala	2,000
10.	Fakir	10,000	29.	Baluch	1,800
11.	Musalman	7,500	30.	Makrani	1,800
12.	Mansoori	7,000	31.	Behlim	1,700
13.	Khatki	6,500	32.	Kureshi	1,600
14.	Chhippa	5,500	33.	Mirasi	1,500
15.	Kadia	5,000	34.	Khatri	1,400
16.	Sipahi	5,000	35.	Khokhar	1,250
17.	Tai	5,000	36.	Dhobi	1,000
18.	Memon	4,500	37.	Jat	1,000
19.	Patel Vohra	4,500			

Communities from No. 37 to 49 number between 1,000 and 500; from 50 to 74 between 500 to 100. The rest are smaller groups numbering less than 100.

It will be remembered that these figures are no definitive index of the actual size of the community; at best, they give only a relative idea.

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APPENDIX C

Field-work on Population and Communities

The enumeration of the communities listed in the preceding pages is based on the *National Register of Citizens*, maintained in every Municipal and Taluqa office. These Registers list the name of every household with its surname and the community affiliation is indicated by the surname. In many cases the latter is indicated clearly by the surname but there are also occasions when the same community is indicated by several surnames and a blanket surname like Shaikh covers several communities. Hence it was necessary that this enumeration be checked by actual field-work in the town or taluqa in question.

In this Survey, the first stage was the consultation of these Records. This was done in the following centres:

Baroda District
Baroda city
Padra town
Karjan taluqa
Padra taluqa
Sinor taluqa
Sankheda taluqa
Dabhoi town
Dabhoi taluqa
Chhota Udepur taluqa
Vagodia taluqa
Baroda taluqa
Jabygam taluqa

Ahmedabad District
Ahmedabad city
Ahmedabad taluqa
Sanand town
Sanand taluqa

Kaira District
Cambay town
Cambay taluqa
Petlad town
Petlad taluqa
Borsad town
Anand town

Bharuch District
Bharuch city
Bharuch taluqa
Jambusar town
Jambusar taluqa
Ankleshwar town
Ankleshwar taluqa
Amod taluqa

Surat District
Surat city
Rander town
Navasari town
Navasari taluqa

Panch Mahals District
Godhra town
Dohad town
Dohad taluqa
Devgadh Baria town
Devgadh Baria taluqa

Mehsana District
Sidhpore town
Kalol town
Visnagar town
Vadnagar town
Unjha town
Vijapur town
Vijapur taluqa
Kalol taluqa
Visnagar taluqa
Kadi taluqa

Banaskantha District
Palanpur town
Palanpur taluqa
Radhanpur town
Kankrej taluqa
Deodar taluqa
Danta taluqa
Dhanera taluqa
Wav taluqa
Tharad taluqa
Deesa taluqa

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Santalpur taluqa
SABARKANTHA DISTRICT
Modasa town
Idar town
Idar taluqa
Prantij town
Prantij taluqa
Himmatnagar town
Himmatnagar taluqa

In the Saurashtra Division, the *National Register* in Junagadh town alone could be consulted.

In Bhuj Kacchh the *Register* was not available.

It may be noted that town records are kept separately only in localities having a Municipal committee; in others, they are maintained together with the village records in the taluqa office.

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APPENDIX D

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF DA'UDI BOHRA DA'IS IN INDIA:

The first twenty-three *da'is* had their headquarters in Yemen. The list therefore begins with the first Indian *da'i*, 24th in the Order, Syedna Yusuf Najm-u'd-din bin Sulaiman.

24.	Syedna Yusuf Najm-u'd-din bin Sulaiman :	From Safar 26, 947/July 2, 1540 to Zi'l-qada 16, 974/July 4, 1567.
25.	Syedna Jalal Shams-u'd-din bin Hasan:	Zi'l-qada 16, 974/July 4, 1567.
26.	Syedna Da'ud Burhan-u'd-din bin Ajab Shah :	Rabi II. 16, 975/October 20, 1567.
27.	Syedna Da'ud Burhan-u'd-din bin Qutb Shah :	Rabi II. 27. 999/March 22, 1591.
28.	Syedna Adam Safi-u'd-din bin Tayyab Shah :	Jamad II. 10, 1021/August 13, 1612.
29.	Syedna 'Abd-u'l Tayyab Zaki-u'd-din bin Da'ud :	Rajab 7, 1030/May 18, 1621.
30.	Syedna 'Ali Shams-u'd-din bin Hasan :	Rabi I. 8, 1041/September 26, 1631.
31.	Syedna Qasim Zain-u'd-din bin Pir Khan :	Rabi I. 25, 1042/September 30, 1632.
32.	Syedna Qutb Khan Qutb-u'd-din bin Da'ud Burhan-u'd-din :	Shawwal 9, 1054/November 29, 1644.
33.	Syedna Pir Khan Shuja-u'd-din bin Ahmadji :	Jamad II. 27, 1056 August 10, 1646.
34.	Syedna Isma'ilji Badr-u'd-din bin Mulla Raj :	Zi'l-qada 9, 1065 September 10, 1655.
35.	Syedna 'Abd-u'l Tayyab Zaki-u'd-din bin Syedna Isma'il :	Jamad II. 23, 1085/September 24, 1674.
36.	Syedna Musa Kalim-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u'l Tayyab .	Zi'l-qada 12, 1110 May 12, 1699.
37.	Syedna Nur Muhammad Nur-u'd din bin Syedna Musa :	Rabi I. 22, 1123/May 21, 1710.
38.	Syedna Isma'ilji Badr-u'd-din bin Shaikh Adam Safi-u'd-din :	Rajab 4, 1130 May 4, 1718.
39.	Syedna Ibrahim Wajih-u'd-din bin Syedi 'Abd-u'l Qadir :	Muharram 7, 1150/May 7, 1737
40.	Syedna Hibt-u'l-lah Muyiad-u'd-din bin Syedna Ibrahim :	Muharram 17, 1168/December 3, 1754.
41.	Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Tayyab Zaki-u'd-din bin Syedna Isma'il Badr-u'd-din :	Shaban 1, 1193 August 14, 1779.
42.	Syedna Yusuf Najm-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u'l Tayyab :	Safar 2, 1200 December 5, 1785.
43.	Syedna 'Abde-'Ali Saif-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u'l Tayyab :	Jamad II. 16, 1213/November 27, 1798.
44.	Syedna Muhammad Izz-u'd-din bin Shaikh Jiwanji :	Zi'l-qada 12, 1232 September 23, 1817.
45.	Syedna Tayyab Zain-u'd-din bin Shaikh Jiwanji :	Ramzan 19, 1236/June 20, 1821.

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46.	Syedna Muhammad Badr-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abde-'Ali Saif-u'd-din :	Zi'l-qada 15, 1252/January 23, 183
47.	Syedna 'Abd-u'l Qadir Najm-u'd-din bin Syedna Tayyab Zain-u'd-din :	Jamad II. 29, 1256/August 28, 184
48.	Syedna 'Abd-u'l Husain Husam-u'd-din bin Syedna Tayyab Zain-u'd-din :	Rajab 26, 1302/May 11, 1885.
49.	Syedna Muhammad Burhan-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u'l-Qadir.	Zi'l-hujja 27, 1303/August 3, 1891.
50.	Syedna 'Abd-u'l-lah Badr-u'd-din bin Syedna 'Abd-u'l Qadir Najm-u'd-din :	Zi'l-hujja 27, 1323/February 22, 1906.
51.	Syedna Tahir Saif-u'd-din bin Syedna Muhammad Burhan-u'd-din :	Rabi II. 10, 1333/January 26, 1915.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

SOCIO-HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE MUSLIM POPULATION OF GUJARAT

Instructions

This Questionnaire is not final. It is designed to help the Research Assistant to focalize his queries. Given in it are the main aspects on which information is to be gathered, by questioning the informants.

Information on each of these items is to be sought: points in which it is not available are to be left out.

Additional information which the Research Assistant feels worth including, should be separately included.

A. History

I. Origin of the Community; early history.

II. Division into sub-sects, if any.

(i) Factors leading to the break-up.

(ii) Sub-sects: their history. (Take up as a separate community, if necessary.)

III. Important landmarks in the history of the Community.

IV. Among other things, the historical narrative should clearly bring out the following points:

(i) The place which the community has occupied in the social and cultural milieu within the larger framework of communities, Muslim and non-Muslim.

(ii) The relation it had with other communities, both Muslim and non-Muslim.

(iii) Its response as a community to the challenges faced by it, in its history: describe both the nature and the response to the challenge, in full.

(iv) The internal tensions which have led to cleavages: the nature and effect of such fissures should be clearly described after close examination.

(v) Its occupational affiliations and its effects on its history.

(vi) Its relations with the former Muslim and Maratha and later with the British rulers.

B. Geographic and Demographic Background

I. Distribution of the community.

(i) In Gujarat.

(ii) In India and Pakistan.

(iii) Outside.

II. Rate of population growth, if ascertainable.

III. Migrations, present and past, if ascertainable.

IV. Nature of residential affiliations: rural or urban.

V. Forms of local residence.

(i) Total population in a city or village.

(ii) Local concentration:

(a) Is the community concentrated in a single locality? Does there appear a focalization which can be said to be significant?

(b) Has it a focal point in the locality?

(1) Is there a madrasah founded or patronized by the community alone or in combination with another community?

(2) Is there a mosque or any other sacred place peculiar to the community and/or any other community?

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C. Social Organization and Social Behaviour

I. Organizational Institutions:
- (i) Head of the community: his functions and powers.
- (ii) Administrative organization: central, regional and local.
- (iii) Communal constitutions, if any: general and local.
- (iv) Deliberative bodies, if any: general and local.
- (v) Special features of communal organization.

II. Functioning of the administrative set-up: description.

III. Sanctions, if any.

IV. Opposition, if any.

V. Festivals observed.
- (i) Days on which observed.
- (ii) Manner of observance.
- (iii) Distinguishing features, if any.

VI. Social Behaviour.
- (i) Manners of greeting
  - (a) To those of the community.
  - (b) To Muslims not of the community.
  - (c) To non-Muslims.

VII Mannerisms like special pronunciations, etc.

VIII Mixing with Muslims and non-Muslims belonging to other communities.

D. Family Organization and Individual Life

I. Family Organization
- (i) Kinship pattern.
- (ii) Marriage pattern: exogamy, endogamy, hypergamy.
- (iii) Preferences in marriage.

II. Manners and Customs:
- (i) Association with birth and initiation.
- (ii) With marriage.
- (iii) With death.
- (iv) With other special occasions.

III. Daily routine: time to get up: meals: hours of work: evening recreations: night prayers, regularity in.

IV. Dress patterns: for men, for women.

V. Food patterns: for men, for women.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

PAGE, PARA 5:

Also, I should like to add that no attempt could be made to trace the history of the significant Mahdawi movement in Gujarat and its present configurations. This is a lacunae which later research can fill.

PAGE 18, 2ND PARA, LAST LINE:

Probably, this is not quite accurate. Only those who are ex-communicated are denied these privileges.

PAGE 19, 3RD PARA, 7TH LINE:

Add after " office " : " in case dynastic compulsions brought an unworthy incumbent to this office ". I should also like to add here that the nature of the office required this extraordinary method of succession. To a large extent its purpose, namely, of keeping out those who were unfit for this office, has been served. There have been succession disputes and there have also been familial considerations but none who can be said to have been unfit for it has attained to this position. Helpful in this, has also been the high value placed on *'ilm* among the Bohra elite and the consequent tradition of learning among them.

PAGE 20 FN. 16:

Please read " chapter " for " section " in this footnote.

PAGE 24 FN. 26:

The fact of assassination is *not* given by these texts but by 'Ali Muhammad Khan in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Khatimah* (p. 117/Supplement p. 100). The *Ma'asir-u'l-umara* also mentions it (I. 74).

Also, please *delete* " 165 " in this and read " 20 to 26 " for " 5 to 7 " in the next (no. 27) footnote.

PAGE 25, 4TH PARA, LINE 4:

" Unclothed " as Yusuf " " here obviously means without upper garments only but please add after " Yusuf ", " i.e. without upper garments ".

PAGE 26, 2ND LINE FROM BOTTOM:

This date is two years short for both in *Mosam-i-Bahar* and the *Gulzar-i-Da'udi*, the year is given as 999. It should therefore read as Rabi II 27, 999; March 22, 1591.

PAGE 27, 4TH PARA, 5TH LINE:

Add after " side " to finish the sentence, " in a published or easily available form ". I add this because the Sulaimanis have in Baroda, their headquarters a fairly extensive library of manuscripts, some of whom are very early and very scarce. Among others, it also has a Journal maintained by Syedna Sulaiman.

PAGE 40, PARAS 3 & 5:

I wonder, how it was possible to bind the discretion of a da'i in this matter. Some understanding appears to have been suggested. Given this pattern of

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succession, a distinction should also be made between regnal succession as it appears in political history where dynastic considerations are paramount in determining succession and the system here which can be called familial or dynastic only in a loose sense. See also page 45 para 2 *infra* where this distinction is to be made and also page 19 *supra*.

In the last line of this page, kindly note that Syedna Wajih-u'd-din passed away on Muharram 7, 1168/December 3, 1754. The word " Syedi " should therefore be " Syedna ".

PAGE 93, 3RD PARA:

More correctly, this should be interpreted as a tendency towards Islamization, for it seeks to affiliate the community name to a symbol which is felt to be closer to the Islamic ideal. Social rise is a corollary which derives from this. This note may kindly be taken to apply to other similar situations.

I should also like to add that as I complete this work, I feel that this concept of social rise by itself and also *vis-a-vis* Islamization requires to be examined more closely.

PAGE 134, PARA 3, LINE 1:

Please read " *in*-written " for " unwritten ". Also in para 4, line 1, read " elaboration " for " eleboration ".

PAGE 140, 3RD PARA, 2ND LINE:

This is not wholly correct. Parallel cousin marriages, especially to mother's sister's daughter are also equally, if not more preferred. See pp. 152-3, *infra*.

PAGE 142, 3RD PARA, LINE 10:

For " obstreperous ", read " widespread ".

A Note on *Islamization* p. 158.

I have just received a series of three articles by Dr. Cora Vreede-de Stuers: " Le Marriage chez les Musalmans de condition " Ashraf " dans l'Inde du Nord ", *Revue Orient*, No. 25, (Avenue des Champs-Elysees, Paris) " Terminologie de Parente chez les Musalmans *Ashraf* de l'Inde du Nord ", *Bijdragen* Deel 119, 3e Aflevering, (S. Gravenhage—Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), and " Mariage Preferentiel chez les Musalmans de l'Inde du Nord " *Revue du sud-est Asiatique*, Annee 1962, Numero 2 (Institute de Sociologie Universite Libre de Bruxelles). She notes the preference for cousin marriages and the process of *Ashrafisation*. I should have liked to use the same word if in Gujarat, there would have been a similar social denomination. Failing this, Islamization seems to be the only word though, as has been noted above, it is not a very satisfactory one.

PAGE 160, LINE 1:

On revision, I feel that the last part of this sentence is not quite accurate and I would like the whole to read as follows: " The trend of opinion in the Muslim Gujarat press is to deplore the tendency towards fashion felt to be becoming greater in the present day." Conservative opinion, both Hindu and Muslim can be said to share this viewpoint.

PAGE 160, 3RD PARA, 3RD LINE:

Here what I wish to emphasize is a two-fold process. First, outside home

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towns where the hold of tradition is strong and therefore the observances of traditional practices, obligatory, the strict observance of covering the face, observing seclusion etc. is to some extent, relaxed. Thus among nuclear family groups, away from home, there is a trend towards relaxation while if the same people when they go back, observe it with the same punctiliousness, as other members. Secondly, the traditional practices of veiling and others tend to be observed more closely when close relations and acquaintances are present but in public places like markets they tend to be a bit relaxed, unless the family concerned is an orthodox one and the *burqa* is customarily put on.

PAGE 162, 2ND PARA, LAST LINE:

Please complete the sentence by adding after " Bharuch ": "....appear to have retained their customary law till the passage of the Shariat Act and possibly, to some extent, even later." A close analysis of case law and decided cases would yield valuable information on this point: this I must add, I have not been able to do.

PAGE 167, 4TH PARA, 1ST LINE:

This, though this information was given to us, is wrong for these three communities have had their distinct pattern of dressing at least, for the last fifty years and more. Fazlullah Lutfullah mentions this in his description in the Gazetteer. This is however true for a number of other trading and agrarian communities as a reference to Chapter 5 will show.

PAGE 168, 3RD PARA, LINES 3 TO 6:

Delete the sentence beginning with " It has " to " census questions ", and substitute: " The majority of religious discourses particularly those given visiting maulwis are couched in Urdu. In madrasahs, it is taught and is often the medium of instruction as well, especially in advanced schools like Chhapi and Rander." I delete this sentence because, like the previous note, this information which was given to us, appears not quite correct, especially, in the latter half of the sentence.

PAGE 170, 2ND PARA, LINES 3 TO 5:

I have, what is called, " ceremonial behaviour " in mind here in which sphere, these attitudes would be most apparent. I am also reminded of the two instances cited by Zarina Ahmad drawn from her personal experience in Uttar Pradesh. (" Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh ", *Economic Weekly*, Vol. XIV/ 7/February 17, 1962). In normal, non-ceremonial behaviour, such attitudes are tending to recede into background especially in the anti-caste ethos of the present day. Also, such feeling tends to be stronger in traditional social circles than in the newly-emergent ones. Even here, it is possible, I should like to add, for a socially active man to break through these barriers. I know of at least one such case.

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GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

Aqiqah : Ritual shaving of the head.
Atalig : Tutor or guardian.

Bacchanu : Seat of the Pir : Literally a resting place.
Bag Pakdai : Holding of reins : a ceremony in marriage.
Barat : The marriage procession.
Batashe : Sugar made pieces.
Bid'a or Bida-Giri : Departure, usually of the bride after marriage.
Bism-i'l-lah : Initiation, particularly of the reading of the Qura'n.

Chandla : Ceremonial presents.
Chapati : Unleavened flat wheat or millet cakes.
Charanamrat : Literally feet-water, signifies ritual liquid offering which is partaken by the worshippers, afterwards.
Chaudhari : Headman.
Chhatthi : Sixth day ceremonies, after child birth.
Chithi : Letter.

Da'i: Short form of *da'i-u'l-mutlaq*.
Dharma: Rights and obligations as defined traditionally and religiously.
Dhoti: Long sheet-like garment for men.
Diya: Small one-wick light.
Dohar: Qura'n recitation in which the participants recite turn by turn joining together in the end.
Dopatta also *Odhni*: Scarf for women worn over the long shirt, Kurta.
Dulha: Bridegroom.

Faqir: Ascetic or medicant.

Ghagra: A heavy petticoat-like garment for women.
Ghodagadi: Horse carriage.

Hafiz: One who can recite the Qura'n from memory.
Haj: Pilgrimage to Mecca.
Haldi: Turmeric, used ritually on auspicious occasions mainly by Hindus.

Imambada: A place for congregation, more important among the Shi'as but also maintained by others resting for tazias and holding discourses.
Izar: Pyjama like garment for women.

Jahez or *Dahej*: Dowry afforded by the bride's parental household.

Kalagi: An ornament of the forehead for horses.
Kansar: A dish made of dough and classified butter.
Khalsa: Royal demains.
Khanah: House, usually for a special purpose.
Khatib: One who leads the prayers at Idgah.
Khatnah: Circumcision.
Kotwal: Town police-chief.
Kusumba: Paste made from opium.
Kurta: Long shirt for men.
Kurti: Long shirt for women.

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Laqab: Community appellation or *nom de plume*.
Lota: A metal container for water.

Maulud: Religious discourse mainly by recitation.
Mazar: Tomb or mausoleum.
Mehr: Dower promised by the husband to the wife.
Mohalla: City or town quarter.
Mu'allim: Teacher or Preacher.
Mujawir: Attendant at mausoleum.
Mukhi: Head man.
Musafirkhana: Hostelry for travellers or visitors.
Mu'ezzin: Crier for prayers.

Namaz: Prayers.
Navamansa: Pre-natal ceremonies performed in the ninth month.
Nikah: Marriage.
Nikah-khwani: Literally "marriage reading"—signifies the formal ceremony finalizing the marriage alliance.

Paigham: Message, usually for marriage negotiations.
Paheramni: Presents of clothes and garments sent on special occasions like birth, or marriage
Pakwan: Dishes cooked in clarified butter.
Panch: A committee of five mainly for community organizations.
Patel: Headman; also the appellation of a community.
Pavaya: Ceremonial offering partaken ritually by the participants.
Pesh-Imam: Prayer leaders in mosque.
Pithi: Ritual prophylactic for auspicious occasions. Same as *ubatana;* also a particular ritual or ceremonial ingredient.
Pyjama: A garment for men for lower limbs.

Rakhi: A ritual bracelet tied by a sister to her brother.
Rukhsati: Same as *bid'a* departure, especially of a bride after marriage.

Safa: Turban.
Salami: Ceremonial presents.
Satwasa: Pre-natal ceremonies performed in the seventh month.
Shab-i-barat: Muslim festival.
Shahid: Martyr.
Shamiana: Pavilion.
Sharbat: Sweet and cool drink.
Shugan: An auspicious sign; also a ceremony with which marriage activities begin.
Sijda: Ritual prostration.
Sindur: Vermilion: prerogative of married women whose husbands are alive.
Sog: Period of mourning.
Suhagan: A married woman with a living husband.
Suhag Puda: Ceremonial packet containing perfume etc. for the use of the bride, sent by the bridegroom's household, as a ceremonial present.
Surban: Long shirt.

Tabarruk: Offering ritually participated in by those having made it.
Tahmad: Sheet-like garment for men for lower limbs.
Talaq: Divorce.
Talaq-i-Tafwiz: Special condition in which the demand for divorce cannot be resisted under certain conditions.
Tazia: Structure constructed during Muharram.
Thali: Metal eating plate.

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Tilak: Ritual mark on forehead.

Ubatana: Ritual prophylactic used during marriage and other occasions.

Urs: Annual commemorative celebrations held at well-known mausoleums.

Waqf: Muslim family trust.

Wazu: The obligatory act of ablutions before prayers.

Ziyarat: The funerary ceremonies held on the third day after demise.

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